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LITERATURE

DEFOE

T. R. Way. Lith — after Vandergucht

Daniel Defoe.

MASTERS OF LITERATURE

DEFOE

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. . . The text of this volume has been carefully collated with the original editions.

INTRODUCTION

I. BIOGRAPHICAL

DANIEL DE FOE, or Defoe, was born in London, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in the year 1661. His father, James Foe, a Dissenter of good family, was in business as a butcher in that parish. He was probably a very prosperous butcher.

Nothing much is known of the little Daniel's childhood. The Plague visited London when he was three years old; but he was then too young "to take notice" of what was afterwards one of his most deep impressions. Even if he noticed the Fire, a few months later, it was probably less important to him than the breaking of a toy. The words "he may have" are pleasant to the unimaginative. Little Daniel "may have" been in the country during both tragedies.

The only facts known to us of his childhood are: (*a*) that he learned "from a boxing young English boy," probably at the cost of a bloody nose, not to strike his enemy when down; (*b*) that he copied out the Pentateuch in shorthand, so that he might have some holy writ of his own if, as was feared then, pious Charles II, taking to Popery, should prohibit the printed English Bible; and (*c*) that he drank the Bath waters about the year 1674.

At the age of fourteen he was sent to study for the ministry at an academy at Newington Green, under "that polite and profound scholar," the Rev. Charles Morton, an ejected divine. Here he remained for four

years, among a company of young men of his own age and sect. During those four years he acquired five languages, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French, and a good general knowledge of mathematics, geography, and history. He left school in the year 1678 (the year of the Popish Plot); but he did not enter the ministry. He tells us that he was "set apart from it," whatever that may mean. That year of high passions, during which, as he tells us, he walked the streets with a flail, lest any Papists should attack him, may have taught him that his nature was not entirely suited to the ministry of the Prince of Peace. It is not known how he passed the next seven years; but he must have employed them in fitting himself for the trade which he afterwards followed. We get glimpses of him at Liverpool about 1680, and at a horse-race at Aylesbury, probably in 1683. No doubt he read much, and took a keen interest in politics. Some think that he commenced author during these years, with two dull pamphlets; but these are rejected as spurious by his best editor. He may have written them. A genius is as often dull in youth as an editor is in his prime.

In the year 1685, either just before or just after he had set up in business, he joined the rebellious party of the Duke of Monmouth, in its short and bloody struggle for the crown and the Protestant religion. He had relatives in the two inflamed counties of Dorset and Somerset. It seems probable that when the Duke landed at Lyme Regis, Defoe was stopping with one of these relatives. Had he been in London at the time he could hardly have succeeded in joining the Duke, for all the western roads were quickly blocked by the King's soldiers. It is not known what part he played in this rebellion. He tells us only that he was "under arms" in it. Some of his Newington schoolfellows, among them poor young Hewling, lost their lives for their share in the rising. It does not appear that Defoe was even prosecuted. He seems to have returned quietly to London to carry on the business of hose-factor (or middleman between the manufacturer and

the retailer) in Freeman's Court, Cornhill. He was admitted a liveryman of the City of London on January 26, 1687–8. In November 1688 he joined the army of the advancing Prince William, at Henley-on-Thames, as a volunteer. A few days later he seems to have seen King James roughly handled by the mob at Faversham in Kent. In October 1689 he rode in a regiment of horse, "made up of the chief citizens," which escorted William and Mary to a City banquet. He was at this period of his life living at Tooting, in Surrey, among a little company of Dissenters. As he must have had a City establishment for the carrying on of his business, it is probable that his affairs, at the time of the glorious Revolution (which he "freshly remembered" on the 4th of November every year), were very prosperous.

For the next few years he seems to have been engaged in foreign trade, as a merchant-adventurer. Oldmixon says that this trade was only "peddling a little to Portugal"; but it certainly took him to France and Spain. He lived and travelled for some months in both these countries; he also visited Germany and Holland. One of his enemies says that he was at this time "a Civet-cat merchant," which has been taken to mean a trader in Eastern drugs. Whatever his trade was, it was disastrous to himself, not, probably, because he was so fond of letters that he became, as it is called, "unpractical," but because, being a very generous and upright man, with a grave, kind heart, he was liable to be cheated by those with neither honour nor charity. He was cheated so frequently by the rooks and sharpers of the town, that in 1692 he became a bankrupt. The bankruptcy laws of that time were almost as barbarous as the criminal laws. To avoid their cruelties he went (it is thought) into hiding at Bristol, where he was known as the Sunday Gentleman; for he could only venture out of doors on Sundays, when the bailiffs had no power to arrest him. He was not long in hiding. His chief creditors agreed to take his own personal security "for the amount of composition upon his debts." He set to

work honestly to pay off this sum. By 1705 he had reduced the debts, "exclusive of composition, from £17,000 to less than £5000," at the rate of about £1000 in a year.

After his affairs had been put in order he settled for a time at a place "seventy miles from London," where he wrote his *Essay on Projects*, a book detailing many ingenious ways by which King William might raise money for his French war. This book was not published until 1697. He married at about this time, and changed the spelling of his name (it is not known why) from Foe to Defoe.

During his retirement he received the offer of a factorship at Cadiz, which he refused, and the offer of the post of "accountant to the commissioners of the glass duty," which he accepted and held until the commission was suppressed in 1699. At the same time he began to act as secretary or manager to the Dutch pantile works at Tilbury, in which he held shares. These pantile works must have thriven under his management. He was able to reduce his debts by large sums, and to move in good society. He was known by both King and Queen as an upright defender of their cause. He did battle for them gallantly in pamphlets on the Glencoe massacre (1696) and on the expected war with France (1700), and in that sterling satire, rough but shrewd, called *The True-born Englishman* (1701), which he wrote against Tutchin, a follower of Monmouth, who had "accused William of being a Dutchman," in "a vile abhorred pamphlet in very ill verse." Before the end of the century (in 1698) he won for himself the ill opinion of many powerful and vicious people by a pamphlet called *The Poor Man's Plea*, a fine attack upon the injustice of the laws against immorality, which was long remembered against him. Among other papers written by him at this time may be mentioned, *An Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters* and *The Freeholder's Plea*, both able pamphlets, which have now no interest for us.

In May 1701 he made himself famous by drawing up "the celebrated Legion Paper," a spirited rebuke to

the House of Commons for imprisoning (with many barbarous indignities) five Kentish gentlemen who had presented a petition to the House asking that the country might be saved from the ruin made probable by the bitterness of the Tory opposition to King William. More than this, he himself, "guarded by about sixteen gentlemen of quality," presented this paper to the Speaker as he entered the House. The Legion letter had no immediate effect; but the Kentish worthies were released some five weeks later when the House rose. Defoe, who was called "their Secretary of State," sat next to them at a great dinner given in their honour at Mercers' Hall. A man who saw him there says that "one might have read the downfall of Parliaments in his very countenance."

This nine weeks' wonder of the Kentish petition sputtered out in a storm of political tracts, among which Defoe's excellent *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England examined and asserted* (published at the end of 1701) stands out conspicuously, not only as the best of them, but as the best work he had written, and one of the best he ever wrote.

After King William's death in March 1702, Defoe became hotly involved with the High-Church party, on the subject of the "occasional conformity" of Dissenters, one of the many by-paths of man's spirit opened up by religious intolerance. Public feeling was very bitter against the Dissenters. "Among those who were the hottest in this affair, were the clergy, and a crowd of women of the lowest rank." A Bill against occasional conformity became law shortly after Queen Anne's accession. While it was being debated in the Lords, Defoe wrote his famous *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, a piece of scathing irony written in parody of the pamphlets then being published by the High-Church, or "high-flyer" party. The parody was so good, "the piece in its outward figure looked so natural, and was so like a brat of their own begetting, that like two apples, they could not know them asunder." The Englishman when excited is often hysterical. Defoe de-

ceived the wisest "Churchmen in the nation" into a state of bloodthirsty hysteria. His wish that the thieves (the Dissenters and Jesuits) might "be crucified," and that the gallows and the galleys might extirpate "pride and Antichrist, and the posterity of the sons of error," delighted their hearts. One eminent Churchman, praying God that her Majesty might put such advice in practice, declared that "next to the Holy Bible, and the sacred Comments," the pamphlet was "the most valuable piece" he had. But this violent delight, this spasm of cruel glee, bloody as the imagination of the sedentary always is, had a violent end. The Churchmen soon learned that the pamphlet had been written by a Dissenter "as a satire upon the fury of the Churchmen, and a plot to make the rest discover themselves." The discovery came too late to save them : they had supported the monstrous doctrine too openly. But all the venom of many mean and wicked natures was poured out upon Defoe in impotent revenge.

"They laboured incessantly," he says, "both in print and in pulpit, to prove that this was a horrible slander upon the Church. But this still answered the author's end the more ; for they could never clear the Church of the slander, without openly condemning the practice ; nor could they possibly condemn the practice, without censuring those clergymen who had gone such a length already as to say the same thing in print. Nor could all their rage at the author of that book contribute any thing to clear them, but still made the better side the worse. It was plain they had owned the doctrine, had preached up the necessity of expelling and rooting out the Dissenters in their sermons and printed pamphlets ; that it was evident they had applauded the book itself, till they knew the author ; and there was no other way to prevent the odium falling on the whole body of the Church of England, but by giving up the authors of these mad principles, and openly professing moderate principles themselves."

He was prosecuted for "libelling the Church," no less. By January 10, 1703, a reward was offered for

his apprehension; and his description was published throughout London. On February 24 he was indicted at the Old Bailey. Two days later his pamphlet was burnt by the common hangman at Westminster. At the July sessions of that year he was tried. At the trial, being advised by his counsel (who had probably been bribed by the prosecution) to plead guilty, and throw himself upon the Queen's mercy, he was condemned "to pay a fine of 200 marks; stand three times in the pillory, be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure; and find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years." He stood in the pillory on the last three days of that July, in a pillory wreathed with flowers by the flower-girls, and guarded by an applauding mob, who drank his health with the money advanced for his torment by the High-Church faction. His sterling *Hymn to the Pillory* was hawked about among the crowd.

After this brief popular triumph he was imprisoned in Newgate, a ruined man. The Tilbury pantile works, of which he was by this time the owner, were closed. The £3500 invested in them was lost. He was shut up in prison among the society described by Fielding in *Amelia*, with nothing but his pen to support a wife and six children. He wrote much in prison, engaged himself in controversies with Wesley, Asgill, and Davenant, and published a collected edition of his writings. In February 1704 he started his weekly *Review* (afterwards issued thrice weekly), a paper which, in its final form, consisted of four quarto pages, printed in double columns of small type, and sold for one penny. It was written entirely by Defoe (who profited little by it) for the public instruction and improvement. It is in many ways the best thing ever written by him; for in its nine quarto volumes there is a record of his daily thoughts during some of the best years of his life. The *Review* succeeded, but the competition was neither great nor of good quality; there were only two other papers in existence, both violent and without literary merit. We may count Defoe as the founder of that kind of periodical writing which

Addison and Steele afterwards brought to such delicate perfection.

In April 1704, the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, a High Churchman who had persecuted Defoe with bitter violence, was expelled from office. He was succeeded by Robert Harley, a gentleman who realized that a man of Defoe's talents might be extremely valuable to the Whig party. At his suggestion the Queen "sent some relief to his wife and family," and discharged his fine. In August 1704, through the good offices of Harley and Godolphin, the Queen consented to his release from Newgate. On his release he was taken into the Queen's (secret) service. What services he did were unknown, but he tells us that they were honourable, and that he discharged them "much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger." His first publication after his release was the interesting and exhaustive study of "the late great storm" (of November 27, 1703), a work which enables the modern meteorologist to construct a complete chart of the tempest's progress. He also wrote a *Hymn to Victory* in praise of the Duke of Marlborough, and several more pamphlets, such as *Giving Alms no Charity*, and *An Inquiry into the Case of Mr. Asgill's General Translation.* His *Review*, and the paper quarrels occasioned by it, kept him busily at work. His reputation brought him new enemies daily. Many scandalous anonymous lampoons were attributed to him, and even printed over his name. As he wittily but inelegantly puts it, "all Apollo's bastards (were) laid to me." He was attacked by the meaner kind of Tory writers, who shrunk from no baseness that their vile minds could invent. He fell ill at the beginning of the year 1705, and later in the same year went abroad on dangerous secret service for two months or more. In 1706 he published *The True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal*, the first and perhaps the dullest of his many fictions.

In 1706 he was sent to Edinburgh on secret service connected with the Union with Scotland. Here he

lived for some eighteen months, during which he was often in danger from the city mobs opposed to the Union. It is thought that he lingered in Scotland rather longer than was necessary in order to avoid some of his creditors. During his stay in that country he set up an Edinburgh edition of his *Review*. His folio history of the Union was published in 1709. In the same year he had the reward of seeing Sacheverell impeached for uttering precisely those bloody doctrines ironically urged in the *Shortest Way*. The impeachment "revived the heats and animosities which began to be laid asleep." There were riotous meetings throughout London. Defoe, who was, of course, sternly opposed to Sacheverell, came in for a fair share of the trouble which assails the just man in all moments of popular hysteria. Sacheverell was the hero of the moment, the Church's martyr, the mouthpiece for the bloodthirsty vapourings of the rabble. Defoe, a man of principle, who dared to judge that popular hero, "adored the wonders of retaliating Providence" at some length in his *Review*. As a result, he writes, "I have by me fifteen letters from gentlemen of more anger than honour, who have faithfully promised to come and kill me by such and such a day; nay, some have descended to tell me the very manner; yet not one of them has been so good as his word. Once, I had the misfortune to come into a room where five gentlemen had been killing me a quarter of an hour before." Very little killing is done by the anonymous letter-writer and the pothouse politician. They save their valour for the beating of their wives, and the burning of their enemies in effigy. Defoe escaped unhurt, to deplore the downfall of the Whig party, which happened directly afterwards as a consequence of Sacheverell's impeachment and absurd sentence. The Whig party went out of office in August 1710. The downfall of the party shook public credit, because the great Whig families withdrew their property from the funds. Defoe, thinking it time to sink party differences when the national life was at

stake, wrote some papers on the restoration of credit, possibly with the help of his old master Robert Harley, who had now become a Tory. After the publication of these papers, he made a tour through several English counties, to view the temper of the nation. The High Churchmen had stirred up "bloody and unnatural" passions throughout the land; so that, in his tour, he was often "an eye-witness to practices that every honest heart, concerned for the welfare of the country, cannot but bleed at the sight of." Early in 1711 he was again in Edinburgh, publishing the *Edinburgh Courant.* In March of that year he returned to London to bring up new troops in the paper battle. By the end of 1711 he was fighting with all his strength against Nottingham's outrageous "Act for preserving the Protestant religion" by shutting out "one quarter of the Protestants, and those the farthest removed from Popery (*i. e.* the Dissenters), from an interest in the constitution."

The *Review* survived the tax upon periodicals imposed during the July of 1712; but it was so severely crippled that it ceased after the issue of another (the ninth) volume. In his later numbers he denied again and again that he had taken money from either political party. One cannot help believing him; but it is evident that after the overthrow of the Whigs in 1710, he was held by that party to be a renegade in Tory pay. While the last volume of his *Review* was in progress he left London for Halifax, where he wrote several pamphlets, in his best ironical manner, against the Jacobite succession. His irony, though a fine thing in its way, irritated the Whigs into prosecuting him for libel. He was counted lucky at the time in not being indicted for high treason. An obscure journalist, who loathed Defoe, pushed on the prosecution, but the case would probably have come to nothing had not Defoe committed "a notorious contempt of court," for which he was sent to Newgate. While in prison the *Review* came to an end. He was again prosecuted for "libel" (for attacking the Jacobite

agent, Lord Annesley) in 1714. At the end of that year he was stricken "with a violent fit of an Apoplexy," which hindered the completion of his *Appeal to Honour and Justice* (published January 1715), and evidently brought him to the door of death. After his recovery he published his *Family Instructor*, a popular work which sold briskly enough to teach him that he might do well to leave off political journalism.

He now began that course of story-writing which makes his name remembered among us. The first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* was published (in octavo) on April 25, 1719. It was immensely popular from the time of its publication. It ran through four editions before the end of August. The Second Part (hastily written, and much less entertaining) was published shortly after the fourth edition of the First. The book was pirated and imitated by many obscure writers, one of whom, the dull hack, Charles Gildon, made his imitation a scurrilous attack upon the author. During the next few months Defoe published other fictions pleasantly disguised as fact. Among these may be mentioned the (doubtful) *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, the story of *Dickory Cronke*, the rather dull *Duncan Campbell*, and the history of Captain Avery, a pirate of the late seventeenth century. He also published several catch-penny lives of criminals, such as Rob Roy and Sheppard. In 1721 he wrote *Moll Flanders*, a story of a low woman, a very popular book. In 1722 he published *Colonel Jack*, the best work of fiction ever done by him. In the same year, during a scare that the plague would come to England from France, where it had broken out with some violence, he wrote his book of *Due Preparations for the Plague*, and the deservedly famous *Journal of the Plague Year*. His vein of story-writing ran dry in about six years. His last long work of fiction was the *New Voyage round the World*, first published in 1725. It is a prosy, long-winded story, the work of a man whose powers are beginning to fail. Unlike *Robinson* and *Colonel Jack*, it shows its derivation; it smacks strongly of the voyages of

Narborough, Dampier, and Shelvocke. It is interesting only because it interested Defoe. It is the expression of one of his most constant dreams, *i. e.* the opening up of an English trade with Spanish Western America.

After this period of invention Defoe's mind lost its brightness. He was getting to be an old man, of little service to his political employers. As his passions grew colder, he gave up controversial writing. As his inventive fancy became feeble (and gross), he gave up story-writing. His latest books have neither spirit nor grace. His *Compleat Tradesman* is low. His *Political History of the Devil* is nauseating. His *System of Magic* and other supernatural works are very tedious. But, as he says in one of his touching prefaces, "The old man cannot trouble you long; take then in good part his best intentions, and impute his defects to age and weakness; look on him as a man of more experience than learning; excuse his style, for the sake of the subject, and take the will for the deed." He lived for some of his last years with his three pretty daughters in a "very handsome house" at Stoke Newington. Here he wrote his pamphlets on the improvement of London, and the means of suppressing street robberies. These pamphlets are the best of his late work. Like some of the pamphlets written by Dekker and Middleton a century before, they give us a strange, harsh, and vivid picture of low life at the time, in all its squalor, but in both pamphlets we are conscious that the author is repeating what he has already said well in other books. Defoe continued to write to the end of his life, but his last years were made wretched by fits of the gout and the stone. Some disaster came to him in the summer of 1730. He was either imprisoned, or forced to go into hiding in Kent ("about two miles from Greenwich"), to avoid imprisonment. When the "wicked, perjur'd, and contemptible enemy" (whoever it may have been) drove him from home, Defoe left his son in charge of his property, in trust for the rest of the family.

"I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he

has no compassion, and suffers them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with ; himself, at ye same time, living in a profusion of plenty."

The unjust steward was mercifully soon dispossessed ; but Defoe never again knew worldly happiness. He was ill of a low fever, and his son's behaviour preyed upon his mind. He returned to London from his country hiding-place, and died there, in the Rope-maker's Alley in Moorfields, on April 24, 1731. "He went off in a lethargy," and was buried two days later in the cemetery at Bunhill Fields, where his tomb may still be seen. His widow was buried in the same ground some twenty months later. None of his children came to eminence, save Benjamin Norton, the son, the unjust steward, who is gibbeted in a malignant couplet in the *Dunciad*, with which sorry triumph we must leave him.

II. APPRECIATION

In the early eighteenth century, people went to portrait painters, hoping that posterity might be deceived by what the portrait painters did. They themselves were deceived; for the portrait painters, being artists, possessed with a vision of ideal, manly beauty, tempered the face of each sitter with that vision, forgetting the sitter in the vision; so that posterity, helpless as ever, finds the artist more easy to estimate than the character of the man whose face he painted. For this reason we must not take the existing portrait of Defoe too seriously. The artist, though dimly conscious that his sitter had a remarkable head, had yet to make that skull conform to the image of Beauty apprehended by him in moments of ecstasy. Like most early eighteenth-century painters, he seems to have done this by making his sitter as unlike a human being as possible. He accentuated his more godlike attributes: his double chin, the outward sign of a holy life (in Rabelais); his wig; his vacancy of stare. He made of him, in short, such a picture as, with a little smoke at the bottom, would have passed, at that time, for Jaffier, in *Venice Preserved*, for Mark Anthony, Bacchus, or Jupiter Tonans. The portrait (as we see it in the engraving) expresses less of the individual man, less, that is, of the eternal something which once lived behind that mask, making it different from all others, than the curt description issued by the police in 1703, when he was prosecuted for libelling the Church (*i. e.* the High-Church party) in his witty parody, *The Shortest Way*. The description calls him "a middle-sized spare man,

about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

The portrait, which, of course, comes to us at second hand from the engraver, who may never have seen his original, does justice only to the wig and to the mole. Like the portrait of Shakespeare, "it cannot be particularly like its subject because it is not particularly like a man." It reminds us of the detective's saw, that a bad description is better than a good portrait. Its one merit is that it preserves something of Defoe's natural expression, though distorted over features not his. The disconcerting, forbidding look, which criticizes, with a severe, cool judgment, all who examine the print, is the expression with which he faced the world. It is not a pleasant expression; but Defoe's walk of life was not in the paths of pleasantness. After seeing the second-hand amelioration of the expression, we can understand his critic's remark, that he had "the downfall of Parliaments in his very countenance." This was the "front" to which Pope objected; the "unabashed" look of one whose chief business was that of fearless criticism.

Of his personal peculiarities not very much can be said with certainty. He was a devout, thrifty, very orderly man, diligent and resourceful in business; but so full of interests, and so fond of having many irons in the fire at one time, that his businesses never prospered for long; they were always destroyed by that contrary part of him which dabbled speculatively in so many walks of life. Business, or rather commerce, in its principles and practice, always interested him. It is hard to say which interested him the more, the great principles of international trade, or the petty routine of the little chapman and shopkeeper. He wrote thoroughly sound books about both. He had probably a complete experience of both; for before he was an elderly man, he had been, as he says, thirteen times completely ruined. But he was always, probably, more of the merchant-

adventurer than anything else, venturing large sums, for large returns, in what would be, for a trader, a rather brilliant, imaginative manner. Almost all his best romances are concerned with traders or with their natural enemies, such as pirates and shop-lifters. His moral judgments are delivered in a profit and loss account. His bad souls attain to grace by becoming traders like the saved.

His fondness for the industry of man limited his sympathies. He was sensitive to natural beauty only when it gave evidence of man's labour. He liked to see orchards full of fruit, fields full of grain, hills covered with sheep, valleys full of farms, and rivers with many mills upon them. He did not care for towns, they had no interest for him, unless they drove a thriving trade, preferably in the drugget or baize line; but any other line, such as salt fish, or spirits, would rouse an emotion in him. The only buildings which stirred him were such gentlemanly buildings as a Lord Mayor would build, on retiring from the City, "a gay sort of retirement" or so, "a very handsome house," "an agreeable Lodging." Churches did not interest him; he was a Dissenter; but a few churches (in the architectural fashion of Wren's disciples) seemed to him to be gentlemanly places for a merchant anxious to return thanks. He evidently liked Gothic architecture, "altho' very old," better than that of his time; but like most Englishmen he had too much taste to say so. Mountains, even such modest mountains as rise in the north of England, frightened him; for like most compleat tradesmen, born and bred in streets, he dreaded the unaccustomed, and preferred the safe scenery in which he had lived as a child. Waste lands, especially gravelly wastes, growing heather, and pine-trees, horrified him into all sorts of suggestions for the reform of the Poor Law. His vision of an Earthly Paradise, if he had ever had one, would have been (roughly speaking) a vision of Nature under a reformed Poor Law.

He took a pleasure in looking out upon the sea, especially in calm weather, when ships could sail into

port, full of rich cargo, before his eyes. Ships always interested him ; but never for their beauty. He liked to see a big man-of-war ; because she could protect trade, and because she employed a lot of idle apprentices who might otherwise be destroying their masters' businesses. He liked to see many ships together, a crowd of ships, ranged in tiers, as they appear in the old prints of the Pool, Deptford Strond, and Gravesend. To see them moored thus, and to speculate upon their value, was (I say) "as good to him as all his dinner." His sense of tragedy was so much tainted by his love of commerce, that it is hard to determine which his characters dread the more, shipwreck, or sentence of death. Defoe himself dreaded shipwreck the more. The most terrible thing ever seen by him was the loss of some West Indiamen in Plymouth Harbour. The thought that some of them may not have been insured, "affected him strangely" until the end of his life. The sea was, therefore, very terrible and dangerous to him ; but in his leisure moments he seems to have looked upon her much as a speculative, adventurous boy will look, with a longing to go exploring, in a ship of his own, according to his own fancy. The life of the sea-captain always fascinated him. He would have been happy had he sailed in some tight brig to the West Coast of Africa, to barter iron and coloured beads with Quashie (whose soul he would have probed with a few Gospel truths) for elephants' teeth and gold dust, at that "monstrous rate" enjoyed by *Captain Singleton*, of "an ounce of gold, sometimes two," for a bit of silver or iron not worth more than fourpence.

Defoe, although a merchant, was often engaged in secret political negotiations, which brought him much into good society. He was always particular in his dress. He liked to have a sword, a fine hat, and everything handsome about him. Following the custom of that drunken age, he was much in the taverns and coffee-houses, though more for the society and the conversation than for self-indulgence. Like the honest pirate of his acquaintance, "he did ever abhor drunken-

ness." He was, however, very fond of wine ; which no doubt he drank daily till he was, as they styled it, "orderly merry" in the manner of King David. That he had a pretty palate that way, may be guessed from his loathing for small beer and gin, and from the fact that he tasted wines in Spain for a London merchant. He did not like tobacco. He calls a pipe "a pensive kind of an instrument" ; but he could never endure to play upon it properly. It may be that he never got beyond his first essay. It seems likely. He writes against the use of tobacco almost as childishly as King James in his *Counterblast.* He may have been spoiled for it in youth by some such barbarous dram of rum and tobacco-juice as he gives to *Robinson Crusoe* for the ague.

If we except yachting, or, to be more exact, travelling by boat in (smooth) water, he did not care much for sport ; probably no one did in that age. He knew enough about boxing not to hit his man when down ; but he may have learned this from his son, who seems to have been a knowing young rake, thoroughly depraved. Of cocking and bull-baiting he tells us nothing. He was fond of watching horse-races, intensely fond. He attended the meetings at Epsom, Newmarket, and Aylesbury with a delight which surprises those who read its written record. It is as though a rural dean confessed to a weakness for the ballet. His fondness for horses, his joy in the beauty of their swiftness, lifts his sober prose into poetry in half-a-dozen passages. He was moved by their speed quite as deeply as the modern race-course frequenter is moved by the titles of their owners. He took a pleasure in them, too, for their shape and condition, in fact he liked a horse rather better than he liked even a compleat Tradesman, whose books needed no posting. He once stopped for three days at a little Staffordshire village merely to watch the progress of a horse-fair, and the skill of the grooms. On the whole, he did take more delight in horses than in anything in the world ; they gave joy to his leisure ; they brought beauty to his

work. But the emotion was never quite enjoyed for its own sake. The world was too near to Defoe for him to rise above it, to enjoy a worldly thing for other than worldly reasons. It is true that, like so many sons of Adam, he "ever admired" a fine woman; but we suspect on good grounds that he ever sought in her the qualities of the good housekeeper, or compleat Family Instructor. He is said to have been twice married. We are left to reflect with melancholy about the women from whom he studied the sex as he describes it.

It is highly probable that neither *Roxana* nor *Moll Flanders* (his famous female characters) was drawn from one of his wives; but the women of his books are always so dull, or so low, or so dull and low together, that at first glance a reader cannot help suspecting that his experience of women was unhappy. He had a dull but strict ideal of marriage, as of other worldly things. Perhaps he found after living with them that women of great dulness and strictness were macerators of the spirit; and so created those characters of great dulness and laxity in a kind of fierce rebellion, by way of variety, so as to indulge the more stirring sides of him with ideal mates. But whatever his wives may have been, and, like other people's wives, they were probably too good for him, he moved in good company. Charming, sparkling ladies have never yet been scarce in the world. How comes it that, with so many delightful models to imitate, the women of his books are such boors? Martha Blount was alive, Congreve's ladies, though old, were still models for a Congreve, witty Lady Mary was writing, and naughty Mrs. Centlivre was still read. The fault cannot have been with the women of his time. The fault was in himself.

A serious writer seeks to create and to perfect the image of his own soul. Defoe's image is flawed and imperfect. He was not, as we call it now, an artist, nor was he at any time a professional writer. Probably he regarded his romances as the least serious works of a long and busy life. They amused him, and perhaps amused his children (for whom they may have been

written), but that they were not more to him than amusements may be seen from two things. First, he gets bored with his stories, tired of them, careless of them. It is very hard to read a Defoe story beyond its halfway page, no matter how real the first half may be. Second (which is really a part of the above), he is not interested in his characters, nor, indeed, in character, as a serious writer, in love with life, necessarily is. It is this failure to apprehend the possibilities of character, and the glory and variety of life, which makes the ends of his romantic books so feeble, and his characters, especially his women characters, such boors. His external situations (Crusoe's island, Jacque's glass-house, Moll Flanders, her lodgings, and the saddler's plague-smitten city) are the things which he loved to create. When he had realized these, by the help of some picaresque fiction, his interest in his book was gone, unless he could bring in a sentence of death or some complication of incest, as one gives brandy to the fainting, to galvanize his flagging emotion into life.

A man is judged by the intensity and nobleness of his spiritual convictions. Defoe's most intense convictions were not so much his own as the convictions of the Dissenting party. There is about them some of the bitterness of party, and much of the dulness of quarrels two centuries dead. There is one noble quality in them, the eternal quality of honest indignation, which is, in our opinion, the noblest emotion ever expressed by Defoe in his writing. It is in his rough, manly *Hymn to the Pillory;* in his *Appeal to Honour and Justice;* in the occasional wise severity of the novels; and in many forgotten pages of the forgotten *Review*. It comes always with no veil of invention over it. It is blunt and plain, simple as daily speech, the very man talking out his mind before us; all the better for being angry, since it needs fire to carry a written page over two centuries. Even on its weaker side, when it becomes a rough, humorous irony, his indignation is righteous and moving. An ironical writer has always nobility of soul; a satirist has seldom any quality save

greater baseness than his subject. An ironical writer knows the good; a satirist need only know the evil. Defoe's ironical humour is to be seen mostly in his *Review;* there is little of it in his books. In his *Review* there are many hundreds of pages of good-humoured, ironical banter, sometimes in the form of dialogue, but more often in a plain narrative of the writer's thoughts. Much of the dialogue (as in the exquisite quarrel of the warlike Londoner with a graver character, such as Defoe himself, on the subject of the expected French invasion) is admirable comedy. Defoe had a power of writing telling dialogue. If he had not disliked the theatre, if the theatre had not roused to the full the fierceness of his indignation, he might have employed that power in the more permanent artistic form of the drama. It is a pity that he never tried his hand at a play. It was not in him to write a good play, since character had no attraction for him, but his quality of just indignation would at least have given reality to the unreal stage of that time, and to some of its unreal patrons.

This quality of just indignation is the noblest, not the strongest of Defoe's qualities. His greatest power comes from what must have been one of the defects of his character; *i. e.* his horror of the idea of death. As far as we know he has never written nobly of death; but he has used his sense of death's terrors terribly, with a solemn fear which appals the heart, in all his best novels, most terribly in the *Journal of the Plague*, most abjectly in *Moll Flanders*, but meaningly in all of them. His creed was earnest and solemn; the temper of his mind was earnest and solemn; but temper and creed were alike imperfect, being dead to beauty. Defoe never admitted ecstasy as a part of life, but as something tacked on to life from without. We see him continually contemplating the supernatural; but with one exception, and that neither long nor lovely, he writes of the worlds without our own world as though they were like this world, only duller. He recognized, however, that supernatural knowledge, even of the

flimsy kind possessed by *Duncan Campbell*, might be useful on the material plane, especially to the horrible people who are always coming into his books, to merchants, that is, to "widows who bounced," whatever that means, while looking for second husbands, and to women "with a mighty itch to be very inquisitive." Death he always feared as the end of everything; its possibilities of beauty were nothing to him; he saw only the certainty of being judged.

We have seen what was noble and strong in him. We come now to what was unusual in him, to that special, particular, distinctive spiritual faculty which makes his work different from other work. He was without imagination of the finer kind; for the imagination is occupied with beauty and power. Defoe shunned beauty, and never sought for power so earnestly as he sought for justice. Instead of the imagination he had a strong (and earthly) invention, which must have been a continual blessing to one so fond of reading. It is that faculty possessed by primitive people, and by children, of giving the mental image, the fiction, a fitting habitation, thought out in each detail, in the mind, so that the possessor may have a retiring-place of private ritual, in which he can live, in moments of leisure, more intensely than in his working day. This possession was very rare when Defoe wrote. Art of all kinds was then imitative and unreal. Fiction, not then a serious art, was so vague and fanciful, that a real invention, such as Defoe's, must have seemed either blasphemous or magnificent to all who read his books. He made fiction more real than it had been since Nashe. Unfortunately, in his novels he squanders this power of creating external reality in giving fitting habitation, and proper circumstance, to fictions of his own imperfectly realized and never thoroughly developed. It is an honourable possession, this gift of his, this gift of inventing realities, but he indulged it at the cost of his characters. A circumstance is always more to him than the spirit which prompted it. He rarely gives his imagined souls such reality that we can conceive of them

as related to our own. They only become conscious of life when under sentence of death or after the loss of all their money. They never develop. They may reform, and become prosperous, they may cease to afflict, or to be afflicted, but they never become more engaging, more interesting, more human. All of them, even dreary *Mrs. Davies* and "pig-of-lead-like" *Roxana*, have a brief and startling reality when their stories begin. It is by this that we remember them. No one cares for *Colonel Jack* after he begins his disgusting series of marriages; but who is not stung to the heart in that early chapter when the poor little ragged boy (who sleeps in the ashes of a glass-house, among pickpockets wickeder than himself) loses his money in the hollow tree where he had thought to keep it safe? Few can read in *Moll Flanders* after her transportation; but the ghastly naturalness of her seduction, and the horror of the days passed by her in the condemned cell, haunt the memory for ever. The opening chapters of the *Journal of the Plague* are the most terrible reading in English prose; they appal one like that grinning image of Scripture, *the pestilence that walketh by noon-day*. Yet who struggles on to the end, to the tipping of the last dead-cart, and the atrocious rhymed epigram?

He always looked upon himself as a merchant, or as a Government agent in secret service. If he valued any of his writings, he valued those volumes of party journalism by which he had helped on the cause of liberty. In this he was right. One need study him little to see that his party writings used more of his nature's finest faculties than his novels and picaresque romances. In his party writings he is shrewd and ironical, wise and righteous, just and far-seeing. In his novels we feel that he is giving us only one side of himself, and that that side never came to maturity, never grew up to noble and perfect life. Defoe's fancy was very much the fancy of a lively boy. It was surely not a mature man who bought a "yatch," intending to sail right round these islands, exploring every bay, creek, harbour, and river-mouth, to see how far they

entered inland. No fully-grown mind could have taken so much pleasure in seeing the Customs cheated on that voyage to France in which he was (if not sea-sick) such a happy passenger. His mind, even in its best period, always responded gladly to those stories which charm boys—stories of highway robbers, thieves, pirates, etc. He takes as much joy in the tale of Hicks, the highwayman, the true original rider to York, as a poet takes in the story of the Holy Grail. His novels and tales are the offspring of a lively but stunted part of him. His life cannot have been wisely ordered; he does not seem to have had much leisure—perhaps no one has, after twenty. The only leisure possible to him was fictitious adventure, in which he indulged himself with boyish spirit, with all the starved boy side of him.

There is no trace of triviality in his work. All that he did was done sincerely. He could be stupid, he could enjoy things unworthy of a man's liking; but there was no grain of falseness in him. There is singularly little bitterness. He was a much-persecuted man. He was calumniated, vilified, libelled, wrongly imprisoned, ruined by false witness, cruelly entreated, barbarously deserted, openly robbed and abused. He went through enough misery to make most men bitter; but he had always (like Blake) the nobleness to direct his anger at the state of mind, not at the individual. He felt some things bitterly. He was bitter against all dishonest work, with its fruits of insolence, extravagance, and sin. The idleness and extravagance of servants irritated him into writing some of the most peevish pamphlets ever read by us. Another thorn which pricked him a good deal was literary piracy, from which he suffered more than most men, in pocket and reputation. Of the injustices which roused him to fury, the wicked and idiotic Bankruptcy Law was the most important and the most potent. He was both gentle and charitable to those who deserved neither kindness nor mercy. His enemies went out of their way to praise him whenever they could forget his politics.

Like all well-known writers, Defoe was an abundant

writer. He wrote almost every day (with great fluency) for nearly fifty years, producing in that time about a hundred and fifty known works, many of them, such as the *Journal of a Tour*, the *History of the Union*, and the complete *Robinson Crusoe*, extremely long books; and many others, though ostensibly mere tracts and pamphlets, such as *Conjugal Lewdness*, as long as an ordinary novel; besides several millions of words of able journalism, now mercifully buried under our own cataract of the same. Writing to such a man is not so much an art as a natural personal faculty, like conversation. We see no conscious striving for particular beauties in his style. He works at a continual low even pressure, thinking clearly, but with no glory of thought, feeling rightly, but without rapture, seeing the world and its faults, but never its significance; expressing always the daily common-places of his nature, and of the world, with a minute and skilful honesty.

He is not among the greatest writers. Great writers give that heavenly manna of idea on which the noble mind can feed. The noble mind, attracted by qualities in Defoe which were truly great, finds them more ingrained in the man than in his writings, which were but a small part of the man. One can always fix a writer's rank in the heavenly hierarchy by asking, "Who reads such an one?" Defoe is read by schoolboys and kitchen-maids, by sailors, by seekers after dirt, and by a few students of history and social science. His popularity is a proof of the commonness of his vision. His inner eye never beheld the singing spirits, rushing in fire, "with all the fury of spiritual existences." He beheld, instead, a broken-down mariner alone on an island, a penitent thief in Newgate, and a little dirty pickpocket asleep on an ash-heap.

JOHN MASEFIELD.

PART I

ROMANCES, ETC.

DANIEL DEFOE

THE LIFE OF COLONEL JACK
(1722)

I

In this story, Defoe tried to present a faithful picture of what goes on in a State careless of its youth. His three characters are three orphaned boys, who, in the absence of any wise State provision, are allowed to live as they can, by theft and beggary. Of the three boys, one is a rough, ill-conditioned fellow, another a merry, thoughtless fellow, the third a lad of good natural capacity and good heart. They belong to the three types which most need the attention of a wise government. In our own day, they are represented by the won't work, the unemployable, and the unemployed. In Defoe's day, as in our own, the three types were allowed to reach their worst possible development. Having failed in its duty towards them, by allowing them to grow up without interference, or moral guidance, the State, more brutal then, but no wiser than now, endeavoured to get rid of them, when it found them dangerous to its peace. What the State did to two of the three may be read in its place. Colonel Jack, the best of the three, escaped, more by luck than by design, and at last came to prosper. The turning point of his career, *i. e.* being kidnapped, and sold as a slave to a wise master, shows us Defoe's favourite solution of the vagrant and pauper problem, his view, that is, of the Detention Colony, which is at last being advocated (in spite of bitter opposition) as a means of solving the problem to-day.

SEEING my life has been such a chequer-work of nature, and that I am able now to look back upon it from a safer distance than is ordinarily the fate of the clan to which I once belonged ; I think my history may find a place in the world, as well as some, who I see are every day read with pleasure, though they have in them

nothing so diverting, or instructing, as I believe mine will appear to be.

My original may be as high as anybody's for aught I know, for my mother kept very good company, but that part belongs to her story, more than to mine; all I know of it is by oral tradition thus; my nurse told me my mother was a gentlewoman, that my father was a man of quality, and she (my nurse) had a good piece of money given her to take me off his hands, and deliver him and my mother from the importunities that usually attend the misfortune of having a child to keep, that should not be seen or heard of.

My father, it seems, gave my nurse something more than was agreed for, at my mother's request, upon her solemn promise, that she would use me well, and let me be put to school; and charged her, that if I lived to come to any bigness, capable to understand the meaning of it, she should always take care to bid me remember that I was a gentleman; and this, he said, was all the education he would desire of her for me; for he did not doubt, he said, but that some time or other, the very hint would inspire me with thoughts suitable to my birth, and that I would certainly act like a gentleman, if I believed myself to be so.

But my disasters were not directed to end as soon as they began. 'Tis very seldom that the unfortunate are so but for a day; as the great rise by degrees of greatness to the pitch of glory, in which they shine, so the miserable sink to the depth of their misery by a continued series of disaster, and are long in the tortures and agonies of their distressed circumstances, before a turn of fortune, if ever such a thing happens to them, gives them a prospect of deliverance.

My nurse was as honest to the engagement she had entered into, as could be expected from one of her employment, and particularly as honest as her circumstances would give her leave to be; for she bred me up very carefully with her own son, and with another son of shame like me, who she had taken upon the same terms.

My name was John, as she told me, but neither she nor I knew anything of a surname that belonged to me; so I was left to call myself Mr. Anything, what I pleased, as fortune and better circumstances should give occasion.

It happened that her own son (for she had a little boy of her own, about one year older than I) was called John too; and about two year after she took another, son of shame, as I called it above, to keep as she did me, and his name was John too.

As we were all Johns, we were all Jacks, and soon came to be called so; for at that part of the town, where we had our breeding, viz., near Goodman's-Fields, the Johns are generally called Jack; but my nurse, who may be allowed to distinguish her own son a little from the rest, would have him called Captain, because forsooth he was the eldest.

I was provoked at having this boy called captain, and I cried, and told my nurse I would be called captain; for she told me I was a gentleman, and I would be a captain, that I would: the good woman, to keep the peace, told me, aye, aye, I was a gentleman, and therefore I should be above a captain, for I should be a colonel, and that was a great deal better than a captain; "for, my dear," says she, "every tarpauling, if he gets but to be lieutenant of a press smack, is called captain, but colonels are soldiers, and none but gentlemen are ever made colonels: besides," says she, "I have known colonels come to be lords, and generals, though they were bastards at first, and therefore you shall be called Colonel."

Well, I was hushed indeed with this for the present, but not thoroughly pleased, till a little while after I heard her tell her own boy, that I was a gentleman, and therefore he must call me colonel; at which her boy fell a-crying, and he would be called colonel. That part pleased me to the life, that he should cry to be called colonel, for then I was satisfied that it was above a captain: so universally is ambition seated in the minds of men, that not a beggar-boy but has his share of it.

So here was Colonel Jack, and Captain Jack; as for the third boy, he was only plain Jack for some years after, till he came to preferment by the merit of his birth, as you shall hear in its place.

We were hopeful boys all three of us, and promised very early, by many repeated circumstances of our lives, that we would be all rogues; and yet I cannot say, if what I have heard of my nurse's character be true, but the honest woman did what she could to prevent it.

Before I tell you much more of our story, it would be very proper to give you something of our several characters, as I have gathered them up in my memory, as far back as I can recover things, either of myself, or my brother Jacks, and they shall be brief and impartial.

Captain Jack was the eldest of us all, by a whole year. He was a squat, big, strong-made boy, and promised to be stout when grown up to be a man, but not to be tall. His temper was sly, sullen, reserved, malicious, revengeful; and withal, he was brutish, bloody, and cruel in his disposition; he was as to manners a mere boor, or clown, of a carman-like breed; sharp as a street-bred boy must be, but ignorant and unteachable from a child. He had much the nature of a bull-dog, bold and desperate, but not generous at all; all the schoolmistresses we went to could never make him learn, no, not so much as to make him know his letters; and as if he was born a thief, he would steal everything that came near him, even as soon almost as he could speak; and that, not from his mother only, but from anybody else, and from us too that were his brethren and companions. He was an original rogue, for he would do the foulest and most villainous things, even by his own inclination; he had no taste or sense of being honest, no, not, I say, to his brother rogues, which is what other thieves make a point of honour of; I mean that of being honest to one another.

The other, that is to say, the youngest of us Johns, was called Major Jack, by the accident following; the

lady that had deposited him with our nurse, had owned to her that it was a major of the guards that was the father of the child ; but that she was obliged to conceal his name, and that was enough. So he was at first called John the Major, and afterwards the Major, and at last, when we came to rove together, Major Jack, according to the rest, for his name was John, as I have observed already.

Major Jack was a merry, facetious, pleasant boy, had a good share of wit, especially off-hand wit, as they call it; was full of jests and good humour, and, as I often said, had something of a gentleman in him. He had a true manly courage, feared nothing, and could look death in the face, without any hesitation; and yet, if he had the advantage, was the most generous and most compassionate creature alive. He had native principles of gallantry in him, without anything of the brutal or terrible part that the Captain had ; and in a word, he wanted nothing but honesty to have made him an excellent man. He had learned to read, as I had done ; and as he talked very well, so he wrote good sense, and very handsome language, as you will see in the process of his story.

As for your humble servant, Colonel Jack, he was a poor unhappy tractable dog, willing enough, and capable too, to learn anything, if he had had any but the devil for his schoolmaster : he set out into the world so early, that when he began to do evil, he understood nothing of the wickedness of it, nor what he had to expect for it. I remember very well that when I was once carried before a justice, for a theft which indeed I was not guilty of, and defended myself by argument, proving the mistakes of my accusers, and how they contradicted themselves ; the justice told me it was pity I had not been better employed, for I was certainly better taught; in which, however, his worship was mistaken, for I had never been taught anything but to be a thief ; except, as I said, to read and write, and that was all, before I was ten years old ; but I had a natural talent of talking, and could say as much to the pur-

pose as most people that had been taught no more than I.

I passed among my comrades for a bold resolute boy, and one that durst fight anything ; but I had a different opinion of myself, and therefore shunned fighting as much as I could, though sometimes I ventured too, and came off well, being very strong made, and nimble withal. However, I many times brought myself off with my tongue, where my hands would not have been sufficient ; and this, as well after I was a man, as while I was a boy.

I was wary and dexterous at my trade, and was not so often catched as my fellow rogues, I mean while I was a boy, and never after I came to be a man, no, not once for twenty-six years, being so old in the trade, and still unhanged, as you shall hear.

As for my person, while I was a dirty glass-bottle-house boy, sleeping in the ashes, and dealing always in the street dirt, it cannot be expected but that I looked like what I was, and so we did all ; that is to say, like a "black your shoes your honour," a beggar-boy, a blackguard-boy, or what you please, despicable, and miserable, to the last degree ; and yet I remember, the people would say of me, that boy has a good face : if he was washed and well dressed, he would be a good pretty boy ; do but look what eyes he has, what a pleasant smiling countenance : 'tis pity ! I wonder what the rogue's father and mother was, and the like : then they would call me, and ask me my name, and I would tell them my name was Jack. "But what's your surname, sirrah ?" says they : "I don't know," says I. "Who is your father and mother ?" "I have none," said I. "What, and never had you any ?" said they : "No," says I, "not that I know of." Then they would shake their heads, and cry, "Poor boy !" and "'tis a pity," and the like ; and so let me go. But I laid up all these things in my heart.

I was almost ten year old, the Captain eleven, and the Major about eight, when the good woman my nurse died. Her husband was a seaman, and had been drowned a

little before in the *Gloucester* frigate, one of the king's ships which was cast away going to Scotland with the Duke of York, in the time of King Charles II., and the honest woman dying very poor, the parish was obliged to bury her; when the three young Jacks attended her corpse, and I the Colonel (for we all passed for her own children) was chief mourner, the Captain, who was the eldest son, going back very sick.

The good woman being dead, we, the three Jacks, were turned loose to the world. As to the parish providing for us, we did not trouble ourselves much about that; we rambled about all three together, and the people in Rosemary-Lane and Ratcliff, and that way, knowing us pretty well, we got victuals easily enough, and without much begging.

For my particular part, I got some reputation, for a mighty civil honest boy! for if I was sent of an errand, I always did it punctually and carefully, and made haste again; and if I was trusted with anything, I never touched it to diminish it, but made it a point of honour to be punctual to whatever was committed to me, though I was as arrant a thief as any of them in all other cases.

In like case, some of the poorer shopkeepers would often leave me at their door, to look after their shops, till they went up to dinner, or till they went over the way to an alehouse, and the like, and I always did it freely, and cheerfully, and with the utmost honesty.

Captain Jack, on the contrary, a surly, ill-looked rough boy, had not a word in his mouth that savoured either of good manners, or good humour; he would say Yes, and No, just as he was asked a question, and that was all, but nobody got anything from him that was obliging in the least. If he was sent of an errand he would forget half of it, and it may be go to play, if he met any boys, and never go at all, or if he went, never come back with an answer; which was such a regardless, disobliging way, that nobody had a good word for him, and everybody said he had the very look of a rogue, and would come to be hanged. In a word, he

got nothing of anybody for good will, but was as it were obliged to turn thief, for the mere necessity of bread to eat; for if he begged he did it with so ill a tone, rather like bidding folks give him victuals than entreating them; that one man, of whom he had something given, and knew him, told him one day, "Captain Jack," says he, "thou art but an awkward, ugly sort of a beggar, now thou art a boy; I doubt thou wilt be fitter to ask a man for his purse, than for a penny, when thou comest to be a man."

The Major was a merry thoughtless fellow, always cheerful: whether he had any victuals or no, he never complained; and he recommended himself so well by his good carriage, that the neighbours loved him, and he got victuals enough one where or other. Thus we all made a shift, though we were so little, to keep from starving; and as for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watchhouses, and on bulkheads, and shop-doors, where we were known; as for a bed, we knew nothing what belonged to it for many years after my nurse died; and in winter we got into the ash-holes, and nealing-arches in the glass-house, called Dallows's Glass-house near Rosemary-Lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliff-Highway.

In this manner we lived for some years; and here we failed not to fall among a gang of naked, ragged rogues like ourselves, wicked as the devil could desire to have them be at so early an age, and ripe for all the other parts of mischief that suited them as they advanced in years.

I remember that one cold winter night we were disturbed in our rest with a constable and his watch, crying out for one Wry-neck, who it seems had done some roguery, and required a hue and cry of that kind; and the watch were informed he was to be found among the beggar-boys under the nealing-arches in the glass-house.

The alarm being given, we were awakened in the dead of the night, with, "Come out here, ye crew of young devils, come out and show yourselves;" so we were all produced: some came out rubbing their eyes, and

scratching their heads, and others were dragged out; and I think there was about seventeen of us in all, but Wry-neck, as they called him, was not among them. It seems this was a good big boy, that used to be among the inhabitants of that place, and had been concerned in a robbery the night before, in which his comrade, who was taken, in hopes of escaping punishment, had discovered him, and informed where he usually harboured; but he was aware, it seems, and had secured himself, at least for that time. So we were allowed to return to our warm apartment among the coal-ashes, where I slept many a cold winter night; nay, I may say, many a winter, as sound, and as comfortably as ever I did since, though in better lodging.

In this manner of living we went on a good while, I believe two year, and neither did, or meant any harm. We generally went all three together; for, in short, the Captain, for want of address, and for something disagreeable in him, would have starved if we had not kept him with us. As we were always together, we were generally known by the name of the three Jacks; but Colonel Jack had always the preference, upon many accounts. The Major, as I have said, was merry and pleasant, but the Colonel always held talk with the better sort, I mean the better sort of those that would converse with a beggar-boy. In this way of talk, I was always upon the inquiry, asking questions of things done in public, as well as in private; particularly, I loved to talk with seamen and soldiers about the war, and about the great seafights, or battles on shore, that any of them had been in; and, as I never forgot anything they told me, I could soon, that is to say, in a few years, give almost as good an account of the Dutch war, and of the fights at sea, the battles in Flanders, the taking of Maestricht, and the like, as any of those that had been there; and this made those old soldiers and tars love to talk with me too, and to tell me all the stories they could think of, and that not only of the wars then going on, but also of the wars in Oliver's time, the death of King Charles I. and the like.

By this means, as young as I was, I was a kind of an historian ; and though I had read no books, and never had any books to read, yet I could give a tolerable account of what had been done, and of what was then a-doing in the world, especially in those things that our own people were concerned in. I knew the names of every ship in the navy, and who commanded them too, and all this before I was fourteen year old, or but very soon after.

Captain Jack in this time fell into bad company, and went away from us, and it was a good while before we ever heard tale or tidings of him, till about half a year I think, or thereabouts, I understood he was got among a gang of kidnappers, as they were then called, being a sort of wicked fellows that used to spirit people's children away ; that is, snatch them up in the dark, and, stopping their mouths, carry them to such houses where they had rogues ready to receive them, and so carry them on board ships bound to Virginia, and sell them.

This was a trade that horrid Jack, for so I called him when we were grown up, was very fit for, especially the violent part ; for if a little child got into his clutches, he would stop the breath of it, instead of stopping its mouth, and never trouble his head with the child's being almost strangled, so he did but keep it from making a noise. There was, it seems, some villainous thing done by this gang about that time, whether a child was murdered among them, or a child otherwise abused ; but it seems it was a child of an eminent citizen, and the parents somehow or other got a scent of the thing, so that they recovered their child, though in a sad condition, and almost killed. I was too young, and it was too long ago, for me to remember the whole story, but they were all taken up and sent to Newgate, and Captain Jack among the rest, though he was but young, for he was not then much above thirteen year old.

What punishment was inflicted upon the rogues of that gang I cannot tell now, but the Captain being but a lad, was ordered to be three times soundly whipped at

Bridewell; my lord mayor, or the recorder, telling him it was done in pity to him, to keep him from the gallows, not forgetting to tell him that he had a hanging look, and bid him have a care on that very account; so remarkable was the Captain's countenance, even so young, and which he heard of afterwards on many occasions. When he was in Bridewell, I heard of his misfortune, and the Major and I went to see him, for this was the first news we heard of what became of him.

The very day that we went, he was called out to be corrected, as they called it, according to his sentence; and as it was ordered to be done soundly, so indeed they were true to the sentence; for the alderman, who was the president of Bridewell, and who I think they called Sir William Turner, held preaching to him about how young he was, and what pity it was such a youth should come to be hanged, and a great deal more, how he should take warning by it, and how wicked a thing it was, that they should steal away poor innocent children, and the like; and all this while the man with a blue badge on lashed him most unmercifully, for he was not to leave off till Sir William knocked with a little hammer on the table.

The poor Captain stamped and danced, and roared out like a mad boy; and I must confess, I was frighted almost to death; for though I could not come near enough, being but a poor boy, to see how he was handled, yet I saw him afterwards, with his back all wealed with the lashes, and in several places bloody, and thought I should have died with the sight of it; but I grew better acquainted with those things afterwards.

I did what I could to comfort the poor Captain, when I got leave to come to him. But the worst was not over with him, for he was to have two more such whippings before they had done with him; and indeed they scourged him so severely, that they made him sick of the kidnapping trade for a great while; but he fell in among them again, and kept among them as long as that trade lasted, for it ceased in a few years afterwards.

The Major and I, though very young, had sensible impressions made upon us for some time by the severe usage of the Captain, and it might be very well said, we were corrected as well as he, though not concerned in the crime; but it was within the year that the Major, a good-conditioned easy boy, was wheedled away by a couple of young rogues that frequented the glass-house apartments, to take a walk with them, as they were pleased to call it; the gentlemen were very well matched, the Major was about twelve year old, and the oldest of the two that led him out was not above fourteen: the business was to go to Bartholomew Fair, and the end of going to Bartholomew Fair was, in short, to pick pockets.

The Major knew nothing of the trade, and therefore was to do nothing; but they promised him a share with them for all that, as if he had been as expert as themselves; so away they went. The two dexterous young rogues managed it so well, that by about eight o'clock at night, they came back to our dusty quarters at the glass-house, and sitting them down in a corner, they began to share their spoil, by the light of the glass-house fire. The Major lugged out the goods, for, as fast as they made any purchase, they unloaded themselves, and gave all to him, that, if they had been taken, nothing might be found about them.

It was a devilish lucky day to them, the devil certainly assisting them to find their prey, that he might draw in a young gamester, and encourage him to the undertaking, who had been made backward before by the misfortune of the Captain. The list of their purchase the first night was as follows:

1. A white handkerchief from a country wench, as she was staring up at a jack-pudding; there was 3*s.* 6*d.* and a row of pins tied up in one end of it.

2. A coloured handkerchief, out of a young country fellow's pocket as he was buying a china orange.

3. A ribbon purse with 11*s.* 3*d.* and a silver thimble in it, out of a young woman's pocket, just as a fellow offered to pick her up.

N.B. She missed her purse presently, but, not seeing the thief, charged the man with it that would have picked her up, and cried out, "A pickpocket!" and he fell into the hands of the mob, but, being known in the street, he got off with great difficulty.

4. A knife and fork, that a couple of boys had just bought, and were going home with; the young rogue that took it got it within the minute after the boy had put it in his pocket.

5. A little silver box with 7*s.* in it, all in small silver, 1*d.*, 2*d.*, 3*d.*, 4*d.* pieces.

N.B. This it seems a maid pulled out of her pocket, to pay at her going into the booth to see a show, and the little rogue got his hand in and fetched it off, just as she put it up again.

6. Another silk handkerchief, out of a gentleman's pocket.

7. Another.

8. A jointed baby, and a little looking-glass, stolen off a toyseller's stall in the Fair.

All this cargo to be brought home clear in one afternoon, or evening rather, and by only two little rogues so young, was, it must be confessed, extraordinary; and the Major was elevated the next day to a strange degree.

He came very early to me, who lay not far from him, and said to me, "Colonel Jack, I want to speak with you." "Well," said I, "what do you say?" "Nay," said he, "it is business of consequence, I cannot talk here;" so we walked out. As soon as we were come out into a narrow lane, by the glass-house, "Look here," says he, and pulls out his little hand almost full of money.

I was surprised at the sight, when he puts it up again, and, bringing his hand out, "Here," says he, "you shall have some of it;" and gives me a sixpence, and a shilling's worth of the small silver pieces. This was very welcome to me, who, as much as I was of a gentleman, and as much as I thought of myself upon that account, never had a shilling of money together before in all my life, not that I could call my own.

I was very earnest then to know how he came by this wealth, for he had for his share 7*s.* 6*d.* in money, the silver thimble, and a silk handkerchief, which was, in short, an estate to him, that never had, as I said of myself, a shilling together in his life.

"And what will you do with it now, Jack?" said I. "I do?" says he; "the first thing I do I'll go into Rag Fair, and buy me a pair of shoes and stockings." "That's right," says I, "and so will I too;" so away we went together, and we bought each of us a pair of Rag Fair stockings in the first place for fivepence, not fivepence a pair, but fivepence together, and good stockings they were too, much above our wear, I assure you.

We found it more difficult to fit ourselves with shoes; but at last, having looked a great while before we could find any good enough for us, we found a shop very well stored, and of these we bought two pair for sixteenpence.

We put them on immediately to our great comfort, for we had neither of us had any stockings to our legs that had any feet to them for a long time: I found myself so refreshed with having a pair of warm stockings on, and a pair of dry shoes—things, I say, which I had not been acquainted with a great while—that I began to call to mind my being a gentleman, and now I thought it began to come to pass. When we had thus fitted ourselves, I said, "Hark ye, Major Jack, you and I never had any money in our lives before, and we never had a good dinner in all our lives: what if we should go somewhere and get some victuals? I am very hungry."

"So we will then," says the Major, "I am a-hungry too;" so we went to a boiling cook's in Rosemary-Lane, where we treated ourselves nobly, and, as I thought with myself, we began to live like gentlemen, for we had three-pennyworth of boiled beef, two-pennyworth of pudding, a penny brick (as they call it, or loaf), and a whole pint of strong beer, which was seven-pence in all.

N.B. We had each of us a good mess of charming beef-broth into the bargain; and, which cheered my heart wonderfully, all the while we were at dinner, the maid and the boy in the house, every time they passed by the open box where we sat at our dinner, would look in and cry, "Gentlemen, do ye call?" and, "Do ye call, gentlemen?" I say this was as good to me as all my dinner.

Not the best housekeeper in Stepney parish, not my lord mayor of London, no, not the greatest man on earth could be more happy in their own imagination, and with less mixture of grief or reflection, than I was at this new piece of felicity; though mine was but a small part of it, for Major Jack had an estate compared to me, as I had an estate compared to what I had before: in a word, nothing but an utter ignorance of greater felicity, which was my case, could make anybody think himself so exalted as I did, though I had no share of this booty but eighteen-pence.

That night the Major and I triumphed in our new enjoyment, and slept with an undisturbed repose in the usual place, surrounded with the warmth of the glass-house fires above, which was a full amends for all the ashes and cinders which we rolled in below.

Those who know the position of the glass-houses, and the arches where they neal the bottles after they are made, know that those places where the ashes are cast, and where the poor boys lie, are cavities in the brick-work, perfectly close, except at the entrance, and consequently warm as the dressing-room of a bagnio, that it is impossible they can feel any cold there, were it in Greenland, or Nova Zembla, and that therefore the boys lie not only safe, but very comfortably, the ashes excepted, which are no grievance at all to them.

The next day the Major and his comrades went abroad again, and were still successful; nor did any disaster attend them, for I know not how many months; and, by frequent imitation and direction, Major Jack became as dexterous a pickpocket as any of them, and went on

through a long variety of fortunes, too long to enter upon now, because I am hastening to my own story, which at present is the main thing I have to set down.

The Major failed not to let me see every day the effects of his new prosperity, and was so bountiful, as frequently to throw me a tester, sometimes a shilling; and I might perceive that he began to have clothes on his back, to leave the ash-hole, having gotten a society lodging (of which I may give an explanation by itself on another occasion), and, which was more, he took upon him to wear a shirt, which was what neither he or I had ventured to do for three year before, and upward.

But I observed all this while, that though Major Jack was so prosperous and had thriven so well, and notwithstanding he was very kind, and even generous to me, in giving me money upon many occasions, yet he never invited me to enter myself into the society, or to embark with him, whereby I might have been made as happy as he, no, nor did he recommend the employment to me at all.

I was not very well pleased with his being thus reserved to me; I had learned from him in general, that the business was picking of pockets, and I fancied, that though the ingenuity of the trade consisted very much in sleight of hand, a good address, and being very nimble, yet that it was not at all difficult to learn; and, especially, I thought the opportunities were so many, the country people that come to London so foolish, so gaping, and so engaged in looking about them, that it was a trade with no great hazard annexed to it, and might be easily learned, if I did but know in general the manner of it, and how they went about it.

The subtle devil, never absent from his business, but ready at all occasions to encourage his servants, removed all these difficulties, and brought me into an intimacy with one of the most exquisite divers, or pickpockets, in the town; and this, our intimacy, was of no less a kind, than that, as I had an inclination to

be as wicked as any of them, he was for taking care that I should not be disappointed.

He was above the little fellows who went about stealing trifles and baubles in Bartholomew Fair, and run the risk of being mobbed for three or four shillings. His aim was at higher things, even at no less than considerable sums of money, and bills for more.

He solicited me earnestly to go and take a walk with him as above, adding, that after he had shown me my trade a little, he would let me be as wicked as I would; that is, as he expressed it, that after he had made me capable, I should set up for myself, if I pleased, and he would only wish me good luck.

Accordingly, as Major Jack went with his gentleman, only to see the manner, and receive the purchase, and yet come in for a share; so he told me, if he had success, I should have my share as much as if I had been principal; and this he assured me was a custom of the trade, in order to encourage young beginners, and bring them into the trade with courage, for that nothing was to be done if a man had not the heart of the lion.

I hesitated at the matter a great while, objecting the hazard, and telling the story of Captain Jack, my elder brother, as I might call him. "Well, Colonel," says he, "I find you are faint-hearted, and to be faint-hearted is indeed to be unfit for our trade, for nothing but a bold heart can go through-stitch with this work; but, however, as there is nothing for you to do, so there is no risk for you to run in these things the first time. If I am taken," says he, "you having nothing to do in it, they will let you go free; for it shall easily be made appear, that whatever I have done, you had no hand in it."

Upon those persuasions I ventured out with him; but I soon found that my new friend was a thief of quality, and a pickpocket above the ordinary rank, and that aimed higher abundantly than my brother Jack. He was a bigger boy than I a great deal; for though I was now near fifteen year old, I was not big of my

age, and as to the nature of the thing, I was perfectly a stranger to it. I knew indeed what at first I did not, for it was a good while before I understood the thing as an offence. I looked on picking pockets as a kind of trade, and thought I was to go apprentice to it. 'Tis true, this was when I was young in the society, as well as younger in years, but even now I understood it to be only a thing for which, if we were catched, we run the risk of being ducked or pumped, which we called soaking, and then all was over; and we made nothing of having our rags wetted a little; but I never understood, till a great while after, that the crime was capital, and that we might be sent to Newgate for it, till a great fellow, almost a man, one of our society, was hanged for it; and then I was terribly frighted, as you shall hear by and by.

Well, upon the persuasions of this lad, I walked out with him; a poor innocent boy, and (as I remember my very thoughts perfectly well) I had no evil in my intentions; I had never stolen anything in my life; and if a goldsmith had left me in his shop, with heaps of money strewed all round me, and bade me look after it, I should not have touched it, I was so honest; but the subtle tempter baited his hook for me, as I was a child, in a manner suited to my childishness, for I never took this picking of pockets to be dishonesty, but, as I have said above, I looked on it as a kind of trade that I was to be bred up to, and so I entered upon it, till I became hardened in it beyond the power of retreating; and thus I was made a thief involuntarily, and went on a length that few boys do, without coming to the common period of that kind of life, I mean to the transport-ship, or the gallows.

The first day I went abroad with my new instructor, he carried me directly into the city, and as we went first to the water side, he led me into the long room at the Custom-House; we were but a couple of ragged boys at best, but I was much the worse; my leader had a hat on, a shirt, and a neckcloth; as for me, I had neither of the three, nor had I spoiled my manners so

much as to have a hat on my head since my nurse died, which was now some years. His orders to me were to keep always in sight, and near him, but not close to him, nor to take any notice of him at any time till he came to me; and if any hurlyburly happened, I should by no means know him, or pretend to have anything to do with him.

I observed my orders to a tittle. While he peered into every corner, and had his eye upon everybody, I kept my eye directly upon him, but went always at a distance, and on the other side of the long room, looking as it were for pins, and picking them up on the dust as I could find them, and then sticking them on my sleeve, where I had at last gotten forty or fifty good pins; but still my eye was upon my comrade, who, I observed, was very busy among the crowds of people that stood at the board, doing business with the officers, who pass the entries, and make the cockets, &c.

At length he comes over to me, and stooping as if he would take up a pin close to me, he put something into my hand, and said, "Put that up, and follow me down stairs quickly." He did not run, but shuffled along apace through the crowd, and went down, not the great stairs which we came in at, but a little narrow staircase at the other end of the long room; I followed, and he found I did, and so went on, not stopping below as I expected, nor speaking one word to me, till through innumerable narrow passages, alleys, and dark ways, we were got up into Fenchurch-Street, and through Billiter-Lane into Leadenhall-Street, and from thence into Leadenhall-Market.

It was not a meat-market day, so we had room to sit down upon one of the butchers' stalls, and he bade me lug out. What he had given me was a little leather letter-case, with a French almanack stuck in the inside of it, and a great many papers in it of several kinds.

We looked them over, and found there was several valuable bills in it, such as bills of exchange, and other

notes, things I did not understand; but among the rest was a goldsmith's note, as he called it, of one Sir Stephen Evans, for 300*l.*, payable to the bearer, and at demand; besides this, there was another note for 12*l.* 10*s.*, being a goldsmith's bill too, but I forget the name; there was a bill or two also written in French, which neither of us understood, but which it seems were things of value, being called foreign bills accepted.

The rogue, my master, knew what belonged to the goldsmith's bills well enough, and I observed, when he read the bill of Sir Stephen, he said, "This is too big for me to meddle with;" but when he came to the bill for 12*l.* 10*s.*, he said to me, "This will do, come hither, Jack;" so away he runs to Lombard-Street, and I after him, huddling the other papers into the letter-case. As he went along, he inquired the name out immediately, and went directly to the shop, put on a good grave countenance, and had the money paid him without any stop or question asked; I stood on the other side the way looking about the street, as not at all concerned with anybody that way, but observed, that when he presented the bill, he pulled out the letter-case, as if he had been a merchant's boy, acquainted with business, and had other bills about him.

They paid him the money in gold, and he made haste enough in telling it over, and came away, passing by me, and going into Three-King-Court, on the other side of the way; then we crossed back into Clement's-Lane, made the best of our way to Cole-Harbour, at the water side, and got a sculler for a penny to carry us over the water to St. Mary-Overies' stairs, where we landed, and were safe enough.

Here he turns to me; "Colonel Jack," says he, "I believe you are a lucky boy, this is a good job; we'll go away to St. George's Fields and share our booty." Away we went to the Fields, and sitting down in the grass, far enough out of the path, he pulled out the money; "Look here, Jack," says he, "did you ever see the like before in your life?" "No, never," says I,

and added very innocently, "must we have it all?" "We have it!" says he, "who should have it?" "Why," says I, "must the man have none of it again that lost it?" "He have it again;" says he, "what d'ye mean by that?" "Nay, I don't know," says I; "why, you said just now you would let him have the t'other bill again, that you said was too big for you."

He laughed at me; "You are but a little boy," says he, "that's true, but I thought you had not been such a child neither;" so he mighty gravely explained the thing to me thus: that the bill of Sir Stephen Evans was a great bill for 300*l.*, "and if I," says he, "that am but a poor lad, should venture to go for the money, they will presently say, how should I come by such a bill, and that I certainly found it or stole it; so they will stop me," says he, "and take it away from me, and it may be bring me into trouble for it too; so," says he, "I did say it was too big for me to meddle with, and that I would let the man have it again, if I could tell how; but for the money, Jack, the money that we have got, I warrant you he should have none of that; besides," says he, "whoever he be that has lost this letter-case, to be sure, as soon as he missed it, he would run to a goldsmith and give notice, that if anybody came for the money, they should be stopped; but I am too old for him there," says he.

"Why," says I, "and what will you do with the bill; will you throw it away? if you do, somebody else will find it," says I, "and they will go and take the money." "No, no," says he, "then they will be stopped and examined, as I tell you I should be." I did not know well what all this meant, so I talked no more about that; but we fell to handling the money. As for me, I had never seen so much together in all my life, nor did I know what in the world to do with it, and once or twice I was going to bid him keep it for me, which would have been done like a child indeed, for, to be sure, I had never heard a word more of it, though nothing had befallen him.

However, as I happened to hold my tongue as to that part, he shared the money very honestly with me; only at the end, he told me, that though it was true he promised me half, yet as it was the first time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less than he did; so he divided the money, which was 12*l.* 10*s.*, into two exact parts, viz., 6*l.* 5*s.*, in each part; then he took 1*l.* 5*s.*, from my part, and told me I should give him that for handsel. "Well," says I, "take it then, for I think you deserve it all:" so, however, I took up the rest; "And what shall I do with this now," says I, "for I have nowhere to put it?" "Why, have you no pockets?" says he; "Yes," says I, "but they are full of holes." I have often thought since that, and with some mirth too, how I had really more wealth than I knew what to do with, for lodging I had none, nor any box or drawer to hide my money in, nor had I any pocket, but such as I say was full of holes; I knew nobody in the world that I could go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor naked, ragged boy, they would presently say I had robbed somebody, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my money would be my crime, as they say it often is in foreign countries; and now, as I was full of wealth, behold I was full of care, for what to do to secure my money I could not tell; and this held me so long, and was so vexatious to me the next day, that I truly sat down and cried.

Nothing could be more perplexing than this money was to me all that night. I carried it in my hand a good while, for it was in gold, all but 14*s.*; and that is to say, it was in four guineas, and that 14*s.* was more difficult to carry than the four guineas; at last I sat down, and pulled off one of my shoes, and put the four guineas into that; but after I had gone a while, my shoe hurt me so I could not go, so I was fain to sit down again, and take it out of my shoe, and carry it in my hand; then I found a dirty linen rag in the street, and I took that up, and wrapped it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since

heard people say, when they have been talking of money that they could not get in, "I wish I had it in a foul clout:" in truth, I had mine in a foul clout; for it was foul, according to the letter of that saying, but it served me till I came to a convenient place, and then I sat down and washed the cloth in the kennel, and so then put my money in again.

Well, I carried it home with me to my lodging in the glass-house, and when I went to go to sleep, I knew not what to do with it; if I had let any of the black crew I was with know of it, I should have been smothered in the ashes for it, or robbed of it, or some trick or other put upon me for it; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my hand, and my hand in my bosom, but then sleep went from my eyes: Oh, the weight of human care! I, a poor beggar-boy, could not sleep as soon as I had but little money to keep, who before that could have slept upon a heap of brick-bats, stones, or cinders, or anywhere, as sound as a rich man does on his down bed, and sounder too.

Every now and then dropping asleep, I should dream that my money was lost, and start like one frighted; then, finding it fast in my hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for a long while, then drop and start again. At last a fancy came into my head that if I fell asleep, I should dream of the money, and talk of it in my sleep, and tell that I had money, which if I should do, and one of the rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my bosom, and of my hand too, without waking me; and after that thought I could not sleep a wink more; so that I passed that night over in care and anxiety enough; and this, I may safely say, was the first night's rest that I lost by the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches.

As soon as it was day, I got out of the hole we lay in, and rambled abroad into the fields towards Stepney, and there I mused and considered what I should do with this money, and many a time I wished that I had not had it; for, after all my ruminating upon it, and what

course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I could not hit upon any one thing, or any possible method to secure it, and it perplexed me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

When my crying was over, the case was the same; I had the money still, and what to do with it I could not tell. At last it came into my head, that I would look out for some hole in a tree, and see to hide it there till I should have occasion for it. Big with this discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a tree; but there were no trees in the fields about Stepney or Mile-End, that looked fit for my purpose; and if there were any, that I began to look narrowly at, the fields were so full of people, that they would see if I went to hide anything there, and I thought the people eyed me as it was, and that two men in particular followed me to see what I intended to do.

This drove me farther off, and I crossed the road at Mile-End, and in the middle of the town went down a lane that goes away to the "Blind Beggars," at Bethnal-Green; when I came a little way in the lane, I found a footpath over the fields, and in those fields several trees for my turn, as I thought; at last, one tree had a little hole in it, pretty high out of my reach, and I climbed up the tree to get to it, and when I came there, I put my hand in, and found (as I thought) a place very fit, so I placed my treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it; but, behold, putting my hand in again to lay it more commodiously, as I thought, of a sudden it slipped away from me, and I found the tree was hollow, and my little parcel was fallen in quite out of my reach, and how far it might go in I knew not; so that, in a word, my money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost; there could be no room so much as to hope ever to see it again, for it was a vast great tree.

As young as I was, I was now sensible what a fool I was before, that I could not think of ways to keep my money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a hole where I could not reach it. Well, I thrust my hand

quite up to my elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity ; I got a stick off the tree, and thrust it in a great way, but all was one ; then I cried, nay, I roared out, I was in such a passion ; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I scratched my arm and made it bleed, and cried all the while most violently ; then I began to think I had not so much as a half-penny of it left for a half-penny roll, and I was a-hungry, and then I cried again ; then I came away in despair, crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped ; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.

The last time I had gotten up the tree I happened to come down not on the same side that I went up and came down before, but on the other side of the tree, and on the other side of the bank also ; and, behold, the tree had a great open place, in the side of it close to the ground, as old hollow trees often have ; and looking into the open place, to my inexpressible joy, there lay my money and my linen rag, all wrapped up just as I had put it into the hole ; for the tree being hollow all the way up, there had been some moss or light stuff, which I had not judgement enough to know was not firm, and had given way when it came to drop out of my hand, and so it had slipped quite down at once.

I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I holloaed quite out aloud when I saw it ; then I run to it, and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times ; then danced and jumped about, run from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now what I did, though I shall never forget the thing, either what a sinking grief it was to my heart, when I thought I had lost it, or what a flood of joy overwhelmed me when I had got it again.

While I was in the first transport of my joy, as I have said, I run about, and knew not what I did ; but when that was over I sat down, opened the foul clout the money was in, looked at it, told it, found it was all

there, and then I fell a-crying as savourly as I did before, when I thought I had lost it.

It would tire the reader should I dwell on all the little boyish tricks that I played in the ecstasy of my joy and satisfaction, when I had found my money; so I break off here. Joy is as extravagant as grief, and since I have been a man I have often thought, that had such a thing befallen a man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a bit of bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over—I say, had it been so with a man, it might have hazarded his using some violence upon himself.

Well, I came away with my money, and, having taken sixpence out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a chandler's shop in Mile-End, and bought a half-penny roll and a half-pennyworth of cheese, and sat down at the door after I bought it, and ate it very heartily, and begged some beer to drink with it, which the good woman gave me very freely.

Away I went then for the town, to see if I could find any of my companions, and resolved I would try no more hollow trees for my treasure. As I came along Whitechapel, I came by a broker's shop, over against the church, where they sold old clothes, for I had nothing on but the worst of rags; so I stopped at the shop, and stood looking at the clothes which hung at door.

"Well, young gentleman," says a man that stood at the door, "you look wishly; do you see anything you like, and will your pocket compass a good coat now, for you look as if you belonged to the ragged regiment?" I was affronted at the fellow. "What's that to you," said I, "how ragged I am? if I had seen anything I liked, I have money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking."

While I said thus, pretty boldly to the fellow, comes a woman out, "What ails you," says she to the man, "to bully away our customers so? a poor boy's money is as good as my lord mayor's; if poor people did not buy old clothes, what would become of our business?"

and then, turning to me, "Come hither, child," says she, "if thou hast a mind to anything I have, you shan't be hectored by him; the boy is a pretty boy, I assure you," says she, to another woman that was by this time come to her. "Aye," says t'other, "so he is, a very well-looking child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a gentleman's son for anything we know, as any of those that are well dressed. Come, my dear," says she, "tell me what is it you would have?" She pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a gentleman's son, and it brought former things to mind; but when she talked of my being not clean, and in rags, then I cried.

She pressed me to tell her if I saw anything that I wanted; I told her no, all the clothes I saw there were too big for me. "Come, child," says she, "I have two things here that will fit you, and I am sure you want them both; that is, first, a little hat, and there," says she (tossing it to me), "I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of breeches; I dare say," says she, "they will fit you; and they are very tight and good; and," says she, "if you should ever come to have so much money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good pockets," says she, "and a little fob to put your gold in, or your watch in, when you get it."

It struck me with a strange kind of joy that I should have a place to put my money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow tree; that I was ready to snatch the breeches out of her hands, and wondered that I should be such a fool never to think of buying me a pair of breeches before, that I might have a pocket to put my money in, and not carry it about two days together in my hand, and in my shoe, and I knew not how; so, in a word, I gave her two shillings for the breeches, and went over into the churchyard, and put them on, put my money into my new pockets, and was as pleased as a prince is with his coach and six horses. I thanked the good woman too for the hat, and told her I would come again when I got more money, and

buy some other things I wanted; and so I came away.

I was but a boy, 'tis true, but I thought myself a man, now I had got a pocket to put my money in, and I went directly to find out my companion, by whose means I got it; but I was frighted out of my wits when I heard that he was carried to Bridewell; I made no question but it was for the letter-case, and that I should be carried there too; and then my poor brother Captain Jack's case came into my head, and that I should be whipped there as cruelly as he was, and I was in such a fright, that I knew not what to do.

But in the afternoon I met him; he had been carried to Bridewell, it seems, upon that very affair, but was got out again. The case was thus: having had such good luck at the Custom-House the day before, he takes his walk thither again, and as he was in the long room, gaping and staring about him, a fellow lays hold of him, and calls to one of the clerks that sat behind, "Here," says he, "is the same young rogue that I told you I saw loitering about t'other day, when the gentleman lost his letter-case, and his goldsmith's bills; I dare say it was he that stole them." Immediately the whole crowd of people gathered about the boy, and charged him point-blank; but he was too well used to such things to be frighted into a confession of what he knew they could not prove, for he had nothing about him belonging to it, nor had any money, but sixpence and a few dirty farthings.

They threatened him, and pulled, and hauled him, till they almost pulled the clothes off of his back, and the commissioners examined him; but all was one, he would own nothing, but said, he walked up through the room, only to see the place, both then, and the time before, for he had owned he was there before, so as there was no proof against him of any fact, no, nor of any circumstances relating to the letter-case, they were forced at last to let him go; however, they made a show of carrying him to Bridewell, and they did carry him to the gate to see if they could make him confess

anything; but he would confess nothing, and they had no *mittimus;* so they durst not carry him into the house, nor would the people have received him, I suppose, if they had, they having no warrant for putting him in prison.

Well, when they could get nothing out of him, they carried him into an alehouse, and there they told him, that the letter-case had bills in it of a very great value, that they would be of no use to the rogue that had them, but they would be of infinite damage to the gentleman that had lost them; and that he had left word with the clerk, who the man that stopped this boy had called to, and who was there with him, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that would bring them again, and give all the security that could be desired, that he would give them no trouble, whoever it was.

He was just come from out of their hands, when I met with him, and so he told me all the story; "but," says he, "I would confess nothing, and so I got off, and am come away clear." "Well," says I, "and what will you do with the letter-case, and the bills, will not you let the poor man have his bills again?" "No, not I," says he, "I won't trust them, what care I for their bills?" It came into my head, as young as I was, that it was a sad thing indeed to take a man's bills away for so much money, and not have any advantage by it neither; for I concluded that the gentleman, who owned the bills, must lose all the money, and it was strange he should keep the bills, and make a gentleman lose so much money for nothing. I remember that I ruminated very much about it, and, though I did not understand it very well, yet it lay upon my mind, and I said every now and then to him, "Do let the gentleman have his bills again, do, pray do"; and so I teased him, with do, and pray do, till at last I cried about them. He said, "What, would you have me be found out and sent to Bridewell, and be whipped, as your brother Captain Jack was?" I said, "No, I would not have you whipped, but I would have the man have his bills, for they will do you no good, but the gentleman will be

undone, it may be"; and then I added again, "Do let him have them." He snapped me short, "Why," says he, "how shall I get them to him? Who dare carry them? I dare not, to be sure, for they will stop me, and bring the goldsmith to see if he does not know me, and that I received the money, and so they will prove the robbery, and I shall be hanged; would you have me be hanged, Jack?"

I was silenced a good while with that, for when he said, "Would you have me be hanged, Jack?" I had no more to say; but one day after this, he called to me, "Colonel Jack," said he, "I have thought of a way how the gentleman shall have his bills again; and you and I shall get a good deal of money by it, if you will be honest to me, as I was to you." "Indeed," says I, "Robin," that was his name, "I will be very honest; let me know how it is, for I would fain have him have his bills."

"Why," says he, "they told me that he had left word at the clerk's place in the long room, that he would give 30*l.* to any one that had the bills, and would restore them, and would ask no questions. Now if you will go, like a poor innocent boy as you are, into the long room, and speak to the clerk, it may do; tell him, if the gentleman will do as he promised, you believe you can tell him who has it; and if they are civil to you, and willing to be as good as their words, you shall have the letter-case, and give it them."

I told him, "Aye," I would go with all my heart. "But, Colonel Jack," says he, "what if they should take hold of you, and threaten to have you whipped, won't you discover me to them?" "No," says I, "if they would whip me to death I won't." "Well, then," says he, "there's the letter-case, do you go." So he gave me directions how to act, and what to say; but I would not take the letter-case with me, lest they should prove false, and take hold of me, thinking to find it upon me, and so charge me with the fact; so I left it with him, and the next morning I went to the Custom-House, as was agreed; what my directions were, will, to avoid

repetition, appear in what happened; it was an errand of too much consequence indeed to be entrusted to a boy, not only so young as I was, but so little of a rogue as I was yet arrived to the degree of.

Two things I was particularly armed with, which I resolved upon: 1. That the man should have his bills again; for it seemed a horrible thing to me that he should be made to lose his money, which I supposed he must, purely because we would not carry the letter-case home. 2. That whatever happened to me, I was never to tell the name of my comrade Robin, who had been the principal. With these two pieces of honesty, for such they were both in themselves, and with a manly heart, though a boy's head, I went up into the long room in the Custom-House the next day.

As soon as I came to the place where the thing was done, I saw the man sit just where he had sat before, and it run in my head that he had sat there ever since; but I knew no better; so I went up, and stood just at that side of the writing-board, that goes up on that side of the room, and which I was but just tall enough to lay my arms upon.

While I stood there, one thrust me this way, and another thrust me that way, and the man that sat behind began to look at me; at last he called out to me; "What does that boy do there? Get you gone, sirrah; are you one of the rogues that stole the gentleman's letter-case on Monday last?" Then he turns his tale to a gentleman that was doing business with him, and goes on thus: "Here was Mr. —— had a very unlucky chance on Monday last, did not you hear of it?" "No, not I," says the gentleman. "Why, standing just there, where you do," says he, "making his entries, he pulled out his letter-case, and laid it down, as he says, but just at his hand, while he reached over to the standish there for a penful of ink, and somebody stole away his letter-case."

"His letter-case!" says t'other, "what, and was there any bills in it?"

"Aye," says he, "there was Sir Stephen Evans's note

in it for 300*l.*, and another goldsmith's bill for about 12*l.*, and, which is worse still for the gentleman, he had two foreign accepted bills in it for a great sum, I know not how much, I think one was a French bill for 1200 crowns."

"And who could it be?" says the gentleman.

"Nobody knows," says he, "but one of our room-keepers says, he saw a couple of young rogues like that," pointing at me, "hanging about here, and that on a sudden they were both gone."

"Villains!" says he again; "why, what can they do with them, they will be of no use to them? I suppose he went immediately, and gave notice to prevent the payment."

"Yes," says the clerk, "he did; but the rogues were too nimble for him with the little bill of 12*l.* odd money; they went and got the money for that, but all the rest are stopped; however, 'tis an unspeakable damage to him for want of his money."

"Why, he should publish a reward for the encouragement of those that have them to bring them again; they would be glad to bring them, I warrant you."

"He has posted it up at the door, that he will give 30*l.* for them."

"Aye, but he should add, that he will promise not to stop, or give any trouble to the person that brings them."

"He has done that too," says he, "but I fear they won't trust themselves to be honest, for fear he should break his word."

"Why? it is true, he may break his word in that case, but no man should do so; for then no rogue will venture to bring home anything that is stolen, and so he would do an injury to others after him."

"I durst pawn my life for him, he would scorn it."

Thus far they discoursed of it, and then went off to something else. I heard it all, but did not know what to do a great while; but at last, watching the gentleman that went away, when he was gone, I run after him to

have spoken to him, intending to have broke it to him, but he went hastily into a room or two, full of people, at the hither end of the long room; and when I went to follow, the doorkeepers turned me back, and told me, I must not go in there; so I went back, and loitered about, near the man that sat behind the board, and hung about there till I found the clock struck twelve, and the room began to be thin of people; and at last he sat there writing, but nobody stood at the board before him, as there had all the rest of the morning; then I came a little nearer, and stood close to the board, as I did before; when, looking up from his paper, and seeing me, says he to me, "You have been up and down there all this morning, sirrah, what do you want? you have some business that is not very good, I doubt."

"No I han't," said I.

"No? it is well if you han't," says he; "pray what business can you have in the long room, sir; you are no merchant?"

"I would speak with you," said I.

"With me," says he, "what have you to say to me?"

"I have something to say," said I, "if you will do me no harm for it."

"I do thee harm, child, what harm should I do thee?" and spoke very kindly.

"Won't you indeed, sir?" said I.

"No, not I, child; I'll do thee no harm; what is it? Do you know anything of the gentleman's letter-case?"

I answered, but spoke softly, that he could not hear me: so he gets over presently into the seat next him, and opens a place that was made to come out, and bade me come in to him; and I did.

Then he asked me again, if I knew anything of the letter-case.

I spoke softly again, and said folks would hear him.

Then he whispered softly, and asked me again.

I told him, I believed I did; but that, indeed I had it not, nor had no hand in stealing it, but it was gotten into the hands of a boy that would have burnt it, if it had not been for me; and that I heard him say, that the gentleman would be glad to have them again, and give a good deal of money for them.

"I did say so, child," said he, "and if you can get them for him, he shall give you a good reward, no less than 30*l.* as he has promised."

"But you said too, sir, to the gentleman just now," said I, "that you was sure he would not bring them into any harm, that should bring them."

"No, you shall come to no harm; I will pass my word for it."

Boy. Nor shan't they make me bring other people into trouble?

Gent. No, you shall not be asked the name of anybody, nor to tell who they are.

Boy. I am but a poor boy, and I would fain have the gentleman have his bills, and indeed I did not take them away, nor I han't got them.

Gent. But can you tell how the gentleman shall have them?

Boy. If I can get them, I will bring them to you to-morrow morning.

Gent. Can you not do it to-night?

Boy. I believe I may if I knew where to come.

Gent. Come to my house, child.

Boy. I don't know where you live.

Gent. Go along with me now, and you shall see. So he carried me up into Tower-Street, and showed me his house, and ordered me to come there at five o'clock at night; which accordingly I did, and carried the letter-case with me.

When I came, the gentleman asked me if I had brought the book, as he called it.

"It is not a book," said I.

"No, the letter-case, that's all one," says he.

"You promised me," said I, "you would not hurt me," and cried.

"Don't be afraid, child," says he, "I will not hurt thee, poor boy; nobody shall hurt thee."

"Here it is," said I, and pulled it out.

He then brought in another gentleman, who it seems owned the letter-case, and asked him if that was it, and he said, "Yes."

Then he asked me if all the bills were in it.

I told him, I heard him say there was one gone, but I believed there was all the rest.

"Why do you believe so?" says he.

"Because I heard the boy that I believe stole them, say, they were too big for him to meddle with."

The gentleman, then, that owned them, said, "Where is the boy?"

Then the other gentleman put in, and said, "No, you must not ask him that; I passed my word that you should not, and that he should not be obliged to tell it to anybody."

"Well, child," says he, "you will let us see the letter-case opened, and whether the bills are in it?"

"Yes," says I.

Then the first gentleman said, "How many bills were there in it?"

"Only three," says he, "besides the bill of 12*l.* 10*s.*; there was Sir Stephen Evans's note for 300*l.* and two foreign bills."

"Well, then, if they are in the letter-case, the boy shall have 30*l.*, shall he not?" "Yes," says the gentleman, "he shall have it freely."

"Come then, child," says he, "let me open it."

So I gave it him, and he opened it, and there were all the three bills, and several other papers, fair and safe, nothing defaced or diminished, and the gentleman said all was right.

Then said the first man, "Then I am security to the poor boy for the money." "Well, but," says the gentleman, "the rogues have got the 12*l.* 10*s.*; they ought to reckon that as part of the 30*l.*" Had he asked me, I should have consented to it at first word; but the first man stood my friend. "Nay," says he, "it was since

you knew that the 12*l.* 10*s.* was received that you offered 30*l.* for the other bills, and published it by the crier, and posted it up at the Custom-House door, and I promised him the 30*l.* this morning." They argued long, and I thought would have quarrelled about it.

However, at last they both yielded a little, and the gentleman gave me 25*l.* in good guineas. When he gave it me, he bade me hold out my hand, and he told the money into my hand; and when he had done, he asked me if it was right. I said, I did not know, but I believed it was. "Why," says he, "can't you tell it?" I told him, No; I never saw so much money in my life, nor I did not know how to tell money. "Why," says he, "don't you know that they are guineas?" No, I told him, I did not know how much a guinea was.

"Why, how then," says he, "did you tell me you believed it was right?" I told him, Because I believed he would not give it me wrong.

"Poor child," says he, "thou knowest little of the world, indeed; what art thou?"

"I am a poor boy," says I, and cried.

"What is your name?" says he; "but hold, I forgot," said he; "I promised I would not ask your name, so you need not tell me."

"My name is Jack," said I.

"Why, have you no surname?" said he.

"What is that?" said I.

"You have some other name besides Jack," says he, "han't you."

"Yes," says I, "they call me Colonel Jack."

"But have you no other name?"

"No," said I.

"How come you to be called Colonel Jack, pray?"

"They say," said I, "my father's name was Colonel."

"Is your father or mother alive?" said he.

"No," said I, "my father is dead."

"Where is your mother then?" said he.

"I never had e'er a mother," said I.

This made him laugh. "What," said he, "had you never a mother, what then?"

"I had a nurse," said I, "but she was not my mother."

"Well," says he to the gentleman, "I dare say this boy was not the thief who stole your bills."

"Indeed, sir, I did not steal them," said I, and cried again.

"No, no, child," said he, "we don't believe you did. This is a clever boy," says he, to the other gentleman, "and yet very ignorant and honest; 'tis pity some care should not be taken of him, and something done for him; let us talk a little more with him." So they sat down and drank wine, and gave me some, and then the first gentleman talked to me again.

"Well," says he, "what wilt thou do with this money now thou hast it?"

"I don't know," said I.

"Where will you put it?" said he.

"In my pocket," said I.

"In your pocket," said he; "is your pocket whole? Shan't you lose it?"

"Yes," said I, "my pocket is whole."

"And where will you put it, when you come home?"

"I have no home," said I; and cried again.

"Poor child!" said he, "then what dost thou do for thy living?"

"I go of errands," said I, "for the folks in Rosemary-Lane."

"And what dost thou do for a lodging at night?"

"I lie at the glass-house," said I, "at night."

"How, lie at the glass-house! have they any beds there?" says he.

"I never lay in a bed in my life," said I, "as I remember."

"Why," says he, "what do you lie on at the glass-house?"

"The ground," says I, "and sometimes a little straw, or upon the warm ashes."

Here the gentleman that lost the bills, said, "This

poor child is enough to make a man weep for the miseries of human nature, and be thankful for himself; he puts tears into my eyes." "And into mine too," says the other.

"Well, but hark ye, Jack," says the first gentleman, "do they give you no money when they send you of errands?"

"They give me victuals," said I, "and that's better."

"But what," says he, "do you do for clothes?"

"They give me sometimes old things," said I, "such as they have to spare."

"Why, you have never a shirt on, I believe," said he, "have you?"

"No, I never had a shirt," said I, "since my nurse died."

"How long ago is that?" said he.

"Six winters, when this is out," said I.

"Why, how old are you?" said he.

"I can't tell," said I.

"Well," says the gentleman, "now you have this money, won't you buy some clothes, and a shirt with some of it?"

"Yes," said I, "I would buy some clothes."

"And what will you do with the rest?"

"I can't tell," said I, and cried.

"What dost cry for, Jack?" said he.

"I am afraid," said I; and cried still.

"What art afraid of?"

"They will know I have money."

"Well, and what then?"

"Then I must sleep no more in the warm glass-house, and I shall be starved with cold. They will take away my money."

"But why must you sleep there no more?"

Here the gentlemen observed to one another how naturally anxiety and perplexity attend those that have money. "I warrant you," says the clerk, "when this poor boy had no money, he slept all night in the straw, or on the warm ashes in the glass-house as soundly and as void of care as it would be possible for any creature

to do; but now, as soon as he has gotten money, the care of preserving it brings tears into his eyes, and fear into his heart."

They asked me a great many questions more, to which I answered in my childish way as well as I could, but so as pleased them well enough; at last I was going away with a heavy pocket, and I assure you not a light heart, for I was so frighted with having so much money that I knew not what in the earth to do with myself: I went away, however, and walked a little way, but I could not tell what to do; so, after rambling two hours or thereabout, I went back again, and sat down at the gentleman's door, and there I cried as long as I had any moisture in my head to make tears of, but never knocked at the door.

I had not sat long, I suppose, but somebody belonging to the family got knowledge of it, and a maid came and talked to me, but I said little to her, only cried still; at length it came to the gentleman's ears. As for the merchant, he was gone. When the gentleman heard of me, he called me in, and began to talk with me again, and asked me what I stayed for.

I told him I had not stayed there all that while, for I had been gone a great while, and was come again.

"Well," says he, "but what did you come again for?"

"I can't tell," says I.

"And what do you cry so for?" said he. "I hope you have not lost your money, have you?"

No, I told him, I had not lost it yet, but I was afraid I should.

"And does that make you cry?" says he.

I told him, Yes, for I knew I should not be able to keep it, but they would cheat me of it, or they would kill me, and take it away from me too.

"They," says he. "Who? What sort of gangs of people art thou with?"

I told him they were all boys, but very wicked boys; "Thieves and pickpockets," said I "such as stole this letter-case, a sad pack, I can't abide them."

"Well, Jack," said he, "what shall be done for thee? Will you leave it with me; shall I keep it for you?"

"Yes," said I, "with all my heart, if you please."

"Come, then," says he, "give it me; and that you may be sure I have it, and you shall have it honestly again, I'll give you a bill for it, and for the interest of it, and that you may keep safe enough. Nay," added he, "and if you lose it, or anybody takes it from you, none shall receive the money but yourself, or any part of it."

I presently pulled out all the money, and gave it to him, only keeping about 15*s.* for myself to buy me some clothes; and thus ended the conference between us on the first occasion, at least for the first time. Having thus secured my money to my full satisfaction, I was then perfectly easy, and accordingly the sad thoughts that afflicted my mind before, began to vanish away.

This was enough to let any one see how all the sorrows and anxieties of men's lives come about; how they rise from their restless pushing at getting of money, and the restless cares of keeping it when they have got it. I that had nothing, and had not known what it was to have had anything, knew nothing of the care, either of getting, or of keeping; I wanted nothing, who wanted everything; I had no care, no concern about where I should get my victuals, or how I should lodge; I knew not what money was, or what to do with it; and never knew what it was not to sleep till I had money to keep, and was afraid of losing it.

I had, without doubt, an opportunity at this time, if I had not been too foolish, and too much a child to speak for myself; I had an opportunity, I say, to have got into the service, or perhaps to be under some of the care and concern of these gentlemen; for they seemed to be very fond of doing something for me, and were surprised at the innocence of my talk to them, as well as at the misery (as they thought it) of my condition.

But I acted indeed like a child; and leaving my money, as I have said, I never went near them for

several years after. What course I took, and what befell me in that interval, has so much variety in it, and carries so much instruction in it, that it requires an account of it by itself.

The first happy chance that offered itself to me in the world was now over; I had got money, but I neither knew the value of it, or the use of it; the way of living I had begun was so natural to me, I had no notion of bettering it; I had not so much as any desire of buying me any clothes, no, not so much as a shirt, and much less had I any thought of getting any other lodging than that in the glass-house, and loitering about the streets, as I had done; for I knew no good, and had tasted no evil; that is to say, the life I had led being not evil in my account.

In this state of ignorance I returned to my really miserable life, so it was in itself, and was only not so to me, because I did not understand how to judge of it, and had known no better.

My comrade that gave me back the bills, and who, if I had not pressed him, designed never to have restored them, never asked me what I had given me, but told me, if they gave me anything it should be my own; for, as he said, he would not run the venture of being seen in the restoring them, I deserved the reward if there was any; neither did he trouble his head with inquiring what I had, or whether I had anything or no; so my title to what I had got was clear.

I went now up and down just as I did before; I had money indeed in my pocket, but I let nobody know it; I went of errands cheerfully as before, and accepted of what anybody gave me, with as much thankfulness as ever; the only difference that I made with myself, was, that if I was a-hungry, and nobody employed me, or gave me anything to eat, I did not beg from door to door, as I did at first, but went to a boiling-house, as I said once before, and got a mess of broth and a piece of bread, price a half-penny; very seldom any meat, or if I treated myself, it was a half-pennyworth of cheese; all which expense did not amount to above twopence or three-

pence a week ; for, contrary to the usage of the rest of the tribe, I was extremely frugal, and I had not disposed of any of the guineas which I had at first ; neither, as I said to the Custom-House gentleman, could I tell what a guinea was made of, or what it was worth.

After I had been about a month thus, and had done nothing, my comrade, as I called him, came to me one morning ; "Colonel Jack," says he, "when shall you and I take a walk again?" "When you will," said I. "Have you got no business yet?" says he. "No," says I ; and so one thing bringing in another, he told me I was a fortunate wretch, and he believed I would be so again ; but that he must make a new bargain with me now ; "For," says he, "Colonel, the first time we always let a raw brother come in for full share, to encourage him, but afterwards, except it be when he puts himself forward well, and runs equal hazard, he stands to courtesy ; but as we are gentlemen, we always do very honourably by one another ; and if you are willing to trust it, or leave it to me, I shall do handsomely by you, that you may depend upon." I told him, I was not able to do anything, that was certain, for I did not understand it, and therefore I could not expect to get anything, but I would do as he bade me ; so we walked abroad together.

We went no more to the Custom-House, it was too bold a venture ; besides, I did not care to show myself again, especially with him in company ; but we went directly to the Exchange, and we hankered about in Castle-Alley, and in Swithin's-Alley, and at the coffee-house doors. It was a very unlucky day, for we got nothing all day but two or three handkerchiefs, and came home to the old lodging at the glass-house ; nor had I had anything to eat or drink all day, but a piece of bread which he gave me, and some water at the conduit at the Exchange-gate. So when he was gone from me, for he did not lie in the glass-house as I did, I went to my old broth-house for my usual bait, and refreshed myself, and the next day early went to meet him again, as he appointed me.

Being early in the morning, he took his walk to Billingsgate, where it seems two sorts of people make a great crowd as soon as it is light, and at that time a year, rather before daylight; that is to say, crimps, and the masters of coal-ships, who they call collier-masters; and, secondly, fishmongers, fish-sellers, and buyers of fish.

It was the first of these people that he had his eye upon. So he gives me my orders, which was thus: "Go you," says he, "into all the alehouses, as we go along, and observe where any people are telling of money; and when you find any, come and tell me." So he stood at the door, and I went into the houses. As the collier-masters generally sell their coals at the gate, as they call it, so they generally receive their money in those alehouses; and it was not long before I brought him word of several. Upon this he went in, and made his observations, but found nothing to his purpose; at length I brought him word, that there was a man in such a house who had received a great deal of money of somebody, I believed of several people, and that it lay all upon the table in heaps, and he was very busy writing down the sums, and putting it up in several bags. "Is he?" says he; "I'll warrant him I'll have some of it;" and in he goes. He walks up and down the house, which had several open tables and boxes in it, and listened to hear, if he could, what the man's name was; and he heard somebody call him Cullum, or some such a name. Then he watches his opportunity, and steps up to him, and tells him a long story, that there was two gentlemen at the Gun tavern, sent him to inquire for him, and to tell him they desired to speak with him.

The collier-master had his money lay before him, just as I had told him, and had two or three small payments of money, which he had put up in little black dirty bags, and lay by themselves; and as it was hardly broad day, he found means, in delivering his message, to lay his hand upon one of those bags, and carry it off perfectly undiscovered.

When he had got it, he came out to me, who stood but at the door; and pulling me by the sleeve, "Run, Jack," says he, "for our lives;" and away he scours, and I after him, never resting, or scarce looking about me, till we got quite up into Fenchurch-Street, through Lime-Street, into Leadenhall-Street, down to St. Mary-Axe, to London-Wall, then through Bishopsgate, and down Old Bedlam into Moorfields. By this time we were neither of us able to run very fast, nor need we have gone so far, for I never found that anybody pursued us. When we got into Moorfields, and began to take breath, I asked him, what it was frighted him so? "Fright me, you fool," says he, "I have got a devilish great bag of money." "A bag!" said I; "Aye, aye," said he, "let us get out into the fields where nobody can see us, and I'll show it you." So away he had me through Long-Alley, and cross Hog-Lane, and Holloway-Lane, into the middle of the great field, which, since that, has been called the Farthing Pie-house Field. There we would have sat down, but it was all full of water; so we went on, crossed the road at Aniseed Cleer, and went into the field where now the great hospital stands; and finding a by-place, we sat down, and he pulls out the bag. "Thou art a lucky boy, Jack," says he, "thou deservest a good share of this job truly, for 'tis all along of thy lucky news." So he pours it all out into my hat, for, as I told you, I now wore a hat.

How he did to whip away such a bag of money from any man that was awake and in his senses, I cannot tell; but there was a great deal in it, and among it a paper-full by itself. When the paper dropt out of the bag, "Hold," says he, "that's gold!" and began to crow and holloa like a mad boy. But there he was balked, for it was a paper of old thirteenpence-halfpenny pieces, half and quarter pieces, with ninepences, and fourpence-halfpennies, all old crooked money, Scotch and Irish coin; so he was disappointed in that; but as it was, there was about 17*l.* or 18*l.* in the bag, as I understood by him; for I could not tell money, not I.

Well, he parted this money into three ; that is to say, into three shares, two for himself, and one for me, and asked if I was content? I told him, Yes, I had reason to be contented ; besides, it was so much money added to that I had left of his former adventure, that I knew not what to do with it, or with myself, while I had so much about me.

This was a most exquisite fellow for a thief ; for he had the greatest dexterity at conveying anything away, that he scarce ever pitched upon anything in his eye, but he carried it off with his hands, and never, that I know of, missed his aim, or was caught in the fact.

He was an eminent pickpocket, and very dexterous at the ladies' gold watches ; but he generally pushed higher, at such desperate things as these ; and he came off the cleanest, and with the greatest success imaginable ; and it was in these kinds of the wicked art of thieving that I became his scholar.

As we were now so rich, he would not let me lie any longer in the glass-house, or go naked and ragged, as I had done ; but obliged me to buy two shirts, a waistcoat, and a great coat ; for a great coat was more for our purpose in the business we was upon than any other. So I clothed myself as he directed, and he took me a lodging in the same house with him, and we lodged together in a little garret fit for our quality.

Soon after this we walked out again, and then we tried our fortune in the places by the Exchange a second time. Here we began to act separately, and I undertook to walk by myself ; and the first thing I did accurately, was a trick I played that argued some skill for a new beginner, for I had never seen any business of that kind done before. I saw two gentlemen mighty eager in talk, and one pulled out a pocket-book two or three times, and then slipt it into his coat-pocket again, and then out it came again, and papers were taken out, and others put in ; and then in it went again, and so several times ; the man being still warmly engaged with another man, and two or three others standing hard by them. The last time he put his pocket-book

into his pocket, he might have been said to throw it in, rather than put it in with his hand, and the book lay end-way, resting upon some other book, or something else in his pocket; so that it did not go quite down, but one corner of it was seen above his pocket.

This careless way of men putting their pocket-books into a coat-pocket, which is so easily dived into by the least boy that has been used to the trade, can never be too much blamed; the gentlemen are in great hurries, their heads and thoughts entirely taken up, and it is impossible they should be guarded enough against such little hawk's-eyed creatures as we were; and, therefore, they ought either never to put their pocket-books up at all, or to put them up more secure, or to put nothing of value into them. I happened to be just opposite to this gentleman in that they call Swithin's-Alley; or that alley rather which is between Swithin's-Alley and the Exchange, just by a passage that goes out of the alley into the Exchange; when seeing the book pass and repass into the pocket, and out of the pocket as above, it came immediately into my head, certainly I might get that pocket-book out if I were nimble, and I warrant Will would have it, if he saw it go and come to and again as I did; but when I saw it hang by the way, as I have said; "Now 'tis mine," said I to myself, and, crossing the alley, I brushed smoothly, but closely, by the man, with my hand down flat to my own side, and, taking hold of it by the corner that appeared, the book came so light into my hand, it was impossible the gentleman should feel the least motion, or anybody else see me take it away. I went directly forward into the broad place on the north side of the Exchange, then scoured down Bartholomew-Lane, so into Tokenhouse-Yard, into the alleys which pass through from thence to London-Wall, so through Moorgate, and sat down in the grass in the second of the quarters of Moorfields, towards the middle field; which was the place that Will and I had appointed to meet at if either of us got any booty. When I came thither, Will was not come, but I saw him a-coming in about half an hour.

As soon as Will came to me, I asked him what booty he had gotten? He looked pale, and, as I thought, frighted; but he returned, "I have got nothing, not I; but, you lucky young dog," says he, "what have you got? Have not you got the gentleman's pocket-book in Swithin's-Alley?" "Yes," says I, and laughed at him; "why, how did you know it?" "Know it!" says he, "why the gentleman is raving and half distracted; he stamps and cries, and tears his very clothes; he says he is utterly undone and ruined, and the folks in the alley say there is I know not how many thousand pounds in it; what can be in it?" says Will; "come, let us see."

Well, we lay close in the grass in the middle of the quarter, so that nobody minded us; and so we opened the pocket-book, and there was a great many bills and notes under men's hands; some goldsmiths', and some belonging to insurance offices, as they call them, and the like; but that which was it seems worth all the rest was that in one of the folds of the cover of the book, where there was a case with several partitions, there was a paper full of loose diamonds. The man, as we understood afterwards, was a Jew, who dealt in such goods, and who indeed ought to have taken more care of the keeping of them.

Now was this booty too great, even for Will himself, to manage; for though by this time I was come to understand things better than I did formerly, when I knew not what belonged to money; yet Will was better skilled by far in those things than I. But this puzzled him too, as well as me. Now were we something like the cock in the fable; for all these bills, and I think there was one bill of Sir Henry Furness's for 1200*l.*, and all these diamonds, which were worth about 150*l.*, as they said; I say, all these things were of no value to us, one little purse of gold would have been better to us than all of it. "But come," says Will, "let us look over the bills for a little one."

We looked over all the bills, and, among them, we found a bill under a man's hand for 32*l.* "Come,"

says Will, "let us go and inquire where this man lives." So we went into the city again, and Will went to the post-house, and asked there; they told him he lived at Temple-bar: "Well," says Will, "I will venture, I'll go and receive the money; it may be he has not remembered to send to stop the payment there."

But it came into his thoughts to take another course; "Come," says Will, "I'll go back to the alley, and see if I can hear anything of what has happened, for I believe the hurry is not over yet." It seems the man, who lost the book, was carried into the King's-head tavern, at the end of that alley, and a great crowd was about the door.

Away goes Will, and watches and waits about the place; and then, seeing several people together, for they were not all dispersed, he asks one or two what was the matter; they tell him a long story of a gentleman who had lost his pocket-book, with a great bag of diamonds in it, and bills for a great many thousand pounds, and I know not what; and that they had been just then crying it, and had offered 100*l.* reward to any one that would discover and restore it.

"I wish," said he, to one of them that parleyed with him, "I did but know who has it, I don't doubt but I would help him to it again; does he remember nothing of anybody, boy, or fellow, that was near him? if he could but describe him, it might do." Somebody that overheard him was so forward to assist the poor gentleman, that they went up and let him know what a young fellow, meaning Will, had been talking at the door; and down comes another gentleman from him, and, taking Will aside, asked him what he had said about it? Will was a grave sort of a young man, that, though he was an old soldier at the trade, had yet nothing of it in his countenance; and he answered, that he was concerned in business where a great many of the gangs of little pickpockets haunted, and if he had but the least description of the person that they suspected, he durst say he could find him out, and might perhaps get the things again for him. Upon this, he desired him to

go up with him to the gentleman, which he did accordingly; and there, he said, he sat leaning his head back in a chair, pale as a cloth; disconsolate to a strange degree, and, as Will described him, just like one under a sentence.

When they came to ask him, whether he had seen no boy, or shabby fellow, lurking near where he stood, or passing, and repassing, and the like, he answered, "No, not any;" neither could he remember that anybody had come near him. "Then," said Will, "it will be very hard, if not impossible, to find them out. However," said Will, "if you think it worth while, I will put myself among those rogues, though," says he, "I care not for being seen among them; but I will put in among them, and if it be in any of those gangs, it is ten to one but I shall hear something of it."

They asked him then, if he had heard what terms the gentleman had offered to have it restored; he answered, "No" (though he had been told at the door); they answered, "He had offered 100*l.*" "That is too much," says Will; "but if you please to leave it to me, I shall either get it for you for less than that, or not be able to get it for you at all." Then the losing gentleman said to one of the other, "Tell him, that if he can get it lower, the overplus shall be to himself." William said, he would be very glad to do the gentleman such a service, and would leave the reward to himself. "Well, young man," says one of the gentlemen, "whatever you appoint to the young artist that has done this roguery (for I warrant he is an artist, let it be who it will), he shall be paid, if it be within the 100*l.*, and the gentleman is willing to give you 50*l.* besides for your pains."

"Truly, sir," says Will, very gravely, "it was by mere chance, that, coming by the door, and seeing the crowd, I asked what the matter was? but if I should be instrumental to get the unfortunate gentleman his pocket-book, and the things in it again, I shall be very glad; nor am I so rich neither, sir, but 50*l.* is very well worth my while too." Then he took directions who to

come to, and who to give his account to if he learnt anything, and the like.

II

At the age of eighteen, Colonel Jack is persuaded by an older thief to join a gang of house-breakers. He is now a skilled pick-pocket, deserving promotion in the ranks of crime. Defoe's unerring hand here shows how even a good heart, if left without right guidance at critical times, will become corrupted, with danger and cost to the Society which will not interfere, even in its own paramount interests.

Will was a lusty strong fellow, and withal very bold and daring, would fight anybody, and venture upon anything, and I found he began to be above the mean rank of a poor pickpocket, so I saw him but seldom; however, once coming to me in a very friendly familiar manner, and asking me how I went on, I told him that I used the old trade still, that I had had two or three good jobs; one with a young woman, whose pocket I had picked of eleven guineas; and another, a countrywoman, just come out of a stage coach, seeing her pull out her bag to pay the coachman; and that I followed her till I got an opportunity, and slipped it out so neatly, that though there was 8*l.* 17*s.* in it, yet she never felt it go. And several other jobs I told him of, by which I made pretty good purchase. "I always said you were a lucky boy, Colonel Jack," says he; "but, come, you are grown almost a man now, and you shall not be always at play at push-pin; I am got into better business, I assure you, and you shall come into it too. I'll bring you into a brave gang, Jack," says he, "where you shall see we shall be all gentlemen."

Then he told me the trade itself, in short, which was with a set of fellows, that had two of the most desperate works upon their hands that belonged to the whole art of thieving; that is to say, in the evening they were footpads, and in the night they were house-breakers. Will told me so many plausible stories, and talked of

such great things, that, in short, I, who had been always used to do anything he bid me do, went with him without any hesitation.

Nothing is more certain, than that hitherto, being partly from the gross ignorance of my untaught childhood, as I observed before, partly from the hardness and wickedness of the company I kept, and add to these, that it was the business I might be said to be brought up to, I had, I say, all the way hitherto, no manner of thoughts about the good or evil of what I was embarked in; consequently, I had no sense of conscience, no reproaches upon my mind for having done amiss.

Yet I had something in me, by what secret influence I knew not, kept me from the other degrees of raking and vice, and, in short, from the general wickedness of the rest of my companions; for example, I never used any ill words, nobody ever heard me swear, nor was I given to drink, or to love strong drink; and I cannot omit a circumstance that very much served to prevent it. I had a strange original notion, as I have mentioned in its place, of my being a gentleman; and several things had casually happened in my way to increase this fancy of mine. It happened one day, that being in the glass-house yard, between Rosemary-Lane and Ratcliff-Highway, there came a man dressed very well, and with a coach attending him, and he came (as I suppose) to buy glass-bottles, or some other goods, as they sold; and in bargaining for his goods, he swore most horrible oaths at every two or three words.

At length the master of the glass-house, an ancient grave gentleman, took the liberty to reprove him, which at first made him swear the worse; after awhile, the gentleman was a little calmer, but still he swore very much, though not so bad as at first. After some time, the master of the glass-house turned from him, "Really, sir," says the good old gentleman, "you swear so, and take God's name in vain so, that I cannot bear to stay with you; I had rather you would let my goods alone, and go somewhere else; I hope you won't take it ill, but I

don't desire to deal with anybody that does so; I am afraid my glass-house should fall on your head while you stay in it."

The gentleman grew good-humoured at the reproof, and said, "Well, come, don't go away, I won't swear any more," says he, "if I can help it; for I own," says he, "I should not do it."

With that the old gentleman looked up at him, and, returning, "Really, sir," says he, "'tis a pity you, that seem to be a fine gentleman, well-bred, and good-humoured, should accustom yourself to such a hateful practice; why, 'tis not like a gentleman to swear, 'tis enough for my black wretches that work there at the furnace, or for these ragged, naked, blackguard boys," pointing at me, and some others of the dirty crew, that lay in the ashes; "'tis bad enough for them," says he, "and they ought to be corrected for it too; but for a man of breeding, sir," says he, "a gentleman, it ought to be looked upon as below them; gentlemen know better, and are taught better, and it is plain you know better; I beseech you, sir, when you are tempted to swear, always ask yourself, Is this like a gentleman? Does this become me as a gentleman? Do but ask yourself that question, and your reason will prevail—you will soon leave it off."

I heard all this, and it made the blood run chill in my veins, when he said swearing was only fit for such as we were. In short, it made as great an impression upon me as it did upon the gentleman; and yet he took it very kindly too, and thanked the old gentleman for his advice. But from that time forward, I never had the least inclination to swearing or ill words, and abhorred it when I heard the other boys do it. As to drinking, I had no opportunity, for I had nothing to drink but water, or small beer that anybody gave me in charity, for they seldom gave away strong beer; and after I had money, I neither desired strong beer, or cared to part with my money to buy it.

Then as to principle, 'tis true I had no foundation laid in me by education, and being early led by my fate

into evil, I had the less sense of its being evil left upon my mind; but when I began to grow to an age of understanding, and to know that I was a thief, growing up in all manner of villany, and ripening apace for the gallows, it came often into my thoughts that I was going wrong, that I was in the high road to the devil; and several times I would stop short, and ask myself if this was the life of a gentleman.

But these little things wore off again as often as they came on, and I followed the old trade again; especially when Will came to prompt me, as I have observed; for he was a kind of a guide to me in all these things; and I had, by custom and application, together with seeing his way, learnt to be as acute a workman as my master.

But, to go back where I left off. Will came to me, as I have said, and telling me how much better business he was fallen into, would have me go along with him, and I should be a gentleman. Will, it seems, understood that word in a quite different manner from me: for his gentleman was nothing more or less than a gentleman thief, a villain of a higher degree than a pickpocket, and one that might do something more wicked, and better entitling him to the gallows, than could be done in our way; but my gentleman that I had my eye upon, was another thing quite, though I could not really tell how to describe it neither.

However the word took with me, and I went with him. We were neither of us old; Will was about twenty-four, and as for me I was now about eighteen, and pretty tall of my age.

The first time I went with him, he brought me into the company only of two more young fellows. We met at the lower part of Gray's-Inn-Lane, about an hour before sunset, and went out into the fields toward a place called Pindar of Wakefield, where are abundance of brick-kilns; here it was agreed to spread from the field-path to the roadway, all the way towards Pancras church, to observe any chance game which, as they called it, they might shoot flying. Upon the path,

within the bank, on the side of the road, going towards Kentish-Town, two of our gang, Will, and one of the other, met a single gentleman, walking apace towards the town; being almost dark, Will cried, "Mark ho!" which, it seems, was the word at which we were all to stand still at a distance, come in, if he wanted help, and give a signal if anything appeared that was dangerous.

Will steps up to the gentleman, stops him, and put the question; that is, "Sir, your money?" The gentleman seeing he was alone, struck at him with his cane, but Will, a nimble, strong fellow, flew in upon him, and, with struggling, got him down; then he begged for his life, Will having told him with an oath that he would cut his throat. In that moment, while this was doing, comes a hackney-coach along the road, and the fourth man, who was that way, cries, "Mark, ho!" which was to intimate that it was a prize, not a surprise; and accordingly the next man went up to assist him, where they stopped the coach, which had a doctor of physic and a surgeon in it, who had been to visit some considerable patient, and, I suppose, had had considerable fees; for here they got two good purses, one with eleven or twelve guineas, the other six, with some pocket money, two watches, one diamond ring, and the surgeon's plaster-box, which was most of it full of silver instruments.

While they were at this work, Will kept the man down who was under him; and though he promised not to kill him, unless he offered to make a noise, yet he would not let him stir till he heard the noise of the coach going on again, by which he knew the job was over on that side. Then he carried him a little out of the way, tied his hands behind him, and bid him lie still and make no noise, and he would come back in half an hour and untie him, upon his word; but if he cried out, he would come back and kill him.

The poor man promised to lie and make no noise, and did so; and had not above 11*s.* 6*d.* in his pocket, which Will took, and came back to the rest; but while

they were together, I, who was on the side of the Pindar of Wakefield, cried, "Mark, ho!" too.

What I saw was a couple of poor women, one a kind of a nurse, and the other a maid-servant going for Kentish-Town. As Will knew that I was but young at the work, he came flying to me, and seeing how easy a bargain it was, he said, "Go, Colonel, fall to work." I went up to them, and speaking to the elderly woman, "Nurse," said I, "don't be in such haste, I want to speak with you;" at which they both stopped, and looked a little frighted. "Don't be frighted, sweetheart," said I to the maid: "a little of that money in the bottom of your pocket will make all easy, and I'll do you no harm." By this time Will came up to us, for they did not see him before; then they began to scream out. "Hold!" says I, "make no noise, unless you have a mind to force us to murder you whether we will or no; give me your money presently, and make no words, and we shan't hurt you." Upon this the poor maid pulled out 5*s.* 6*d.* and the old woman a guinea and a shilling, crying heartily for her money, and said it was all she had left in the world. Well, we took it for all that, though it made my very heart bleed to see what agony the poor woman was in at parting with it, and I asked her where she lived; she said her name was Smith, and she lived at Kentish-Town: I said nothing to her, but bid them go on about their business, and I gave Will the money; so in a few minutes we were all together again: says one of the other rogues, "Come, this is well enough for one road, it's time to be gone." So we jogged away, crossing the fields, out of the path towards Tottenham Court; "But hold!" says Will, "I must go and untie the man." "D-mn him," says one of them, "let him lie." "No," says Will, "I won't be worse than my word, I will untie him." So he went to the place, but the man was gone; either he had untied himself, or somebody had passed by, and he had called for help, and so was untied, for he could not find him, nor make him hear, though he ventured to call twice for him aloud.

This made us hasten away the faster, and getting

into Tottenham-Court-Road, they thought it was a little too near, so they made into the town at St. Giles's, and crossing to Piccadilly, went to Hyde-Park-gate; here they ventured to rob another coach, that is to say, one of the two other rogues and Will did it, between the Park-gate and Knightsbridge; there was in it only a gentleman and a punk; a whore that he had picked up, it seems, at the Spring-Garden, a little farther. They took the gentleman's money, and his watch, and his silver-hilted sword; but when they come to the slut, she damned them and cursed them for robbing the gentleman of his money, and leaving him none for her; as for herself, she had not one sixpenny-piece about her, though she was indeed well enough dressed too.

Having made this adventure, we left that road too, and went over the fields to Chelsea. In the way from Westminster to Chelsea, we met three gentlemen, but they were too strong for us to meddle with; they had been afraid to come over the fields so late (for by this time it was eight o'clock, and though the moon gave some light, yet it was too late and too dark to be safe), so they hired three men at Chelsea, two with pitchforks, and the third, a waterman, with a boat-hook-staff to guard them. We would have steered clear of them, and cared not to have them see us, if we could help it, but they did see us, and cried, "Who comes there?" We answered, "Friends;" and so they went on, to our great satisfaction.

When we came to Chelsea, it seems we had other work to do, which I had not been made privy to; and this was a house to be robbed. They had some intelligence, it seems, with a servant in the house, who was of their gang; this rogue was a waiting-man, or footman, and he had a watchword to let them in by; but this fellow, not for want of being a villain, but by getting drunk, and not minding his part of the work, disappointed us; for he had promised to rise at two o'clock in the morning and let us all in, but being very drunk, and not come in at eleven o'clock, his master ordered

him to be shut out, and the doors locked up, and charged the other servants not to let him in upon any terms whatsoever.

We came about the house at one o'clock to make our observations, intending to go and lie under Beaufort House wall till the clock struck two, and then to come again ; but, behold ! when we came to the house, there lay the fellow at the door fast asleep, and very drunk. Will, who I found was the leader in all these things, waked the fellow, who, as he had had about two hours' sleep, was a little come to himself, and told them the misfortune, as he called it, and that he could not get in. They had some instruments about them, by which they could have broken in by force, but Will considered that as it was but waiting till another time, and they should be let in quietly, they resolved to give it over for that time.

But this was a happy drunken bout for the family ; for the fellow having let fall some words in his drink (for he was a saucy one as well as a drunken one, and talked oddly), as that it had been better they had let him in, and he would make them pay dear for it, or some such thing ; the master hearing of it, turned him away in the morning, and never let him come into his house again : so, I say, it was a happy drunkenness to the family, for it saved them from being robbed, and perhaps murdered, for they were a cursed bloody crew, and, as I found, were about thirteen of them in all, whereof three of them made it their business to get into gentlemen's services, and so to open doors in the night, and let the other rogues in upon them to rob and destroy them.

I rambled this whole night with them. They went from Chelsea, being disappointed there as above, to Kensington ; there they broke into a brewhouse and washhouse, and by that means into an out-kitchen of a gentleman's house where they unhanged a small copper, and brought it off, and stole about a hundredweight of pewter, and went clear off with that too ; and every one going their own by-ways, they found means to get

safe to their several receptacles where they used to dispose of such things.

We lay still the next day, and shared the effects stolen that night, of which my share came to 8*l.* 19*s.* The copper and pewter being weighed, and cast up, a person was at hand to take it as money, at about half value, and in the afternoon Will and I came away together. Will was mighty full of the success we had had, and how we might be sure of the like this way every day. But he observed that I did not seem so elevated at the success of that night's ramble as I used to be, and also that I did not take any great notice of the expectations he was in, of what was to come; yet I had said little to him at that time.

But my heart was full of the poor woman's case at Kentish-Town, and I resolved, if possible, to find her out, and give her her money. With the abhorrence that filled my mind at the cruelty of that act, there necessarily followed a little distaste of the thing itself; and now it came into my head with a double force, that this was the high road to the devil, and that certainly this was not the life of a gentleman.

Will and I parted for that time, but next morning we met again, and Will was mighty brisk and merry; "And now, Colonel Jack," says he, "we shall be rich very quickly." "Well," says I, "and what shall we do when we are rich?" "Do?" says he; "we will buy a couple of good horses, and go farther afield." "What do you mean by farther afield?" said I. "Why," says he, "we will take the highway like gentlemen, and then we shall get a great deal of money indeed." "Well," says I, "what then?" "Why then," says he, "we shall live like gentlemen."

"But, Will," says I, "if we get a great deal of money, shan't we leave this trade off, and sit down, and be safe and quiet?"

"Aye," says Will, "when we have got a great estate we shall be willing to lay it down." "But where," says I, "shall we be before that time comes, if we should drive on this cursed kind of trade?"

"Prithee never think of that," says Will: "if you think of those things, you will never be fit to be a gentleman." He touched me there indeed, for it ran much in my mind still that I was to be a gentleman, and it made me dumb for awhile; but I came to myself after a little while, and I said to him, pretty tartly, "Why, Will, do you call this way of living the life of a gentleman?"

"Why," says Will, "why not?"

"Why," says I, "was it like a gentleman for me to take that 22*s.* from a poor ancient woman, when she begged of me upon her knees not to take it, and told me it was all she had in the world to buy her bread for herself and a sick child which she had at home? Do you think I could be so cruel, if you had not stood by and made me do it? Why, I cried at doing it as much as the poor woman did, though I did not let you see me."

"You fool, you," says Will, "you will never be fit for our business, indeed, if you mind such things as those; I shall bring you off of those things quickly. Why, if you will be fit for business, you must learn to fight when they resist, and cut their throats when they submit: you must learn to stop their breath, that they may beg and pray no more. What signifies pity? prithee, who will pity us when we come to the Old Bailey? I warrant you that whining old woman, that begged so heartily for her 22*s.*, would let you or I beg upon our knees, and would not save our lives by not coming in for an evidence against us. Did you ever see any of them cry when they see gentlemen go to the gallows?"

"Well, Will," says I, "you had better let us keep to the business we were in before; there was no such cruel doings in that, and yet we got more money by it than I believe we shall get at this."

"No, no," says Will, "you are a fool; you don't know what fine things we shall do in a little while."

Upon this discourse we parted for that time; but I resolved with myself that I would never be concerned with him that way any more. The truth is, they were such a dreadful gang, such horrid barbarous villains,

that even that little while that I was among them, my very blood ran cold in my veins at what I heard, particularly the continued raving and damning one another, and themselves, at every word they spoke; and then the horrid resolutions of murder, and cutting throats, which I perceived was in their minds upon any occasion that should present. This appeared first in their discourse upon the disappointment they met with at Chelsea, where the two rogues that were with us, aye, and Will too, damned and raged that they could not get into the house, and swore they would have cut the gentleman's throat if they had got in; and shook hands, damning and cursing themselves, if they did not murder the whole family as soon as Tom (that was the man-servant) could get an opportunity to let them in.

Two days after this, Will came to my lodging; for I had now got a room by myself, had bought me tolerably good clothes and some shirts, and began to look like other folks; but, as it happened, I was abroad upon the scout another way; for, though I was not hardened enough for so black a villain as Will would have had me be, yet I had not arrived to any principle sufficient to keep me from a life, in its degree wicked enough, which tended to the same destruction, though not in so violent and precipitant degrees. I had his message delivered to me, which was to meet him the next evening at such a place, and I came in time enough to meet, so I went to the place, but resolved beforehand, that I would not go any more with him among the gang.

However, to my great satisfaction, I missed him, for he did not come at all to the place, but met with the gang at another place, they having sent for him in haste upon the notice of some booty; and so they went all away together. This was a summons, it seems, from one of the creatures which they had abroad in a family where an opportunity offered them to commit a notorious robbery, down almost as far as Hounslow, and where they wounded a gentleman's gardener so, that I think he died, and robbed the house of a very considerable sum of money and plate.

This, however, was not so clean carried, nor did they get in so easy, but by the resistance they met with, the neighbours were alarmed, and the gentlemen rogues were pursued, and being at London with the booty, one of them was taken. Will, a dexterous fellow and head of the gang, made his escape, and though in his clothes, with a great weight about him, of both money and plate, plunged into the Thames, and swam over where there was no path, or road, leading to the river; so that nobody suspected any one's going that way. Being got over, he made his way, wet as he was, into some woods adjacent, and as he told me afterwards, not far from Chertsey, and stayed lurking about in the woods or fields thereabout, till his clothes were dry; then in the night, got down to Kingston, and so to Mortlake, where he got a boat to London.

He knew nothing that one of his comrades was taken; only he knew that they were all so closely pursued that they were obliged to disperse, and every one to shift for himself. He happened to come home in the evening, as good luck then directed him, just after search had been made for him by the constables; his companion, who was taken, having, upon promise of favour, and of saving him from the gallows, discovered his companions, and Will among the rest, as the principal party in the whole undertaking.

Will got notice of this just time enough to run for it, and not to be taken, and away he came to look for me; but, as my good fate still directed, I was not at home neither. However, he left all his booty at my lodging, and hid it in an old coat that lay under my bedding, and left word that my brother Will had been there, and had left his coat, that he borrowed of me, and that it was under my bed.

I knew not what to make of it, but went up to go to bed; and, finding the parcel, was perfectly frighted to see, wrapped up in it, above a hundred pound in plate and money, and yet knew nothing of brother Will, as he called himself, nor did I hear of him in three or four days.

At the end of four days, I heard, by great accident, that Will, who used to be seen with me, and who called me brother, was taken, and would be hanged. Next day, a poor man, a shoemaker, that used formerly to have a kindness for me, and to send me of errands, and give me sometimes some victuals, seeing me accidentally in Rosemary-Lane, going by him clapped me fast hold by the arm; "Hark ye, young man," says he, "have I catched you?" and haled me along as if I had been a thief apprehended, and he the constable. "Hark ye, Colonel Jack," says he again, "come along with me, I must speak with you. What, are you got into this gang too? What, are you turned housebreaker? Come, I'll have you hanged, to be sure."

These were dreadful words to me, who, though not guilty of the particular thing in question, yet was frighted heartily before, and did not know what I might be charged with by Will, if he was taken, as I had heard that very morning he was. With these words, the shoemaker began to hale and drag me along as he used to do when I was a boy.

However, recovering my spirits, and provoked to the highest degree, I said to him again, "What do you mean, Mr. ——? Let me alone, or you will oblige me to make you do it;" and, with that, I stopped short, and soon let him see I was grown a little too big to be haled about as I used to be when I run of his errands, and made a motion with my other hand as if I would strike him in the face.

"How, Jack!" says he, "will you strike me? will you strike your old friend?" and then he let go my arm, and laughed. "Well, but hark ye, Colonel," says he, "I am in earnest, I hear bad news of you; they say you are gotten into bad company, and that this Will calls you brother; he is a great villain, and I hear he is charged with a bloody robbery, and will be hanged, if he is taken. I hope you are not concerned with him; if you are, I would advise you to shift for yourself, for the constable and the headborough are after him to-day and if he can lay anything to you, he will do it, you

may be sure; he will certainly hang you to save himself."

This was kind, and I thanked him; but told him, this was a thing too serious, and that had too much weight in it to be jested with, as he had done before; and that some ignorant stranger might have seized upon me as a person guilty, who had no farther concern in it than just knowing the man, and so I might have been brought into trouble for nothing; at least people might have thought I was among them, whether I was or no, and it would have rendered me suspected, though I was innocent.

He acknowledged that; told me he was but in jest, and that he talked to me just as he used to do. "However, Colonel," says he, "I won't jest any more with you in a thing of such a dangerous consequence; I only advise you to keep the fellow company no more."

I thanked him, and went away, but in the greatest perplexity imaginable; and now, not knowing what to do with myself, or with the little ill-gotten wealth which I had, I went musing and alone into the fields towards Stepney, my usual walk, and there began to consider what to do; and as this creature had left his prize in my garret, I began to think that if he should be taken, and should confess, and send the officers to search there for the goods, and they should find them, I should be undone, and should be taken up for a confederate; whereas I knew nothing of the matter, and had no hand in it.

While I was thus musing, and in great perplexity, I heard somebody halloo to me; and, looking about, I saw Will running after me. I knew not what to think at first; but seeing him alone, was the more encouraged, and I stood still for him. When he came up to me, I said to him, "What is the matter, Will?" "Matter!" says Will, "matter enough; I am undone—When was you at home?"

"I saw what you left there," says I; "what is the meaning of it, and where got you all that? is that your being undone?"

"Aye," says Will, "I am undone for all that; for the officers are after me; and I am a dead dog if I am taken, for George is in custody, and he has peached me, and all the others, to save his life."

"Life!" says I: "why should you lose your life if they should take you? Pray what would they do to you?"

"Do to me!" says he; "they would hang me, if the king had ne'er another soldier in his guards; I shall certainly be hanged as I am now alive."

This frighted me terribly, and I said, "And what will you do then?" "Nay," says he, "I know not: I would get out of the nation, if I knew how; but I am a stranger to all those things, and I know not what to do, not I; advise me, Jack," says he, "prithee tell me whither shall I go; I have a good mind to go to sea."

"You talk of going away," says I; "what will you do with all you have hid in my garret? it must not lie there," said I; "for if I should be taken up for it, and it be found to be the money you stole, I shall be ruined."

"I care not what becomes of it, not I," says Will; "I'll be gone; do you take it, if you will, and do what you will with it; I must fly, and I cannot take it with me." "I won't have it, not I," says I to him; "I'll go and fetch it to you if you will take it," says I, "but I won't meddle with it; besides, there is plate, what shall I do with plate?" said I; "if I should offer to sell it anywhere," said I, "they will stop me."

"As for that," says Will, "I could sell it well enough, if I had it, but I must not be seen anywhere among my old acquaintance, for I am blown, and they will all betray me; but I will tell you where you shall go and sell it, if you will, and they will ask you no questions, if you give them the word that I will give you." So he gave me the word, and directions to a pawnbroker, near Cloth-Fair; the word was *Good Tower standard*. Having these instructions, he said to me, "Colonel Jack, I am sure you won't betray me; and I promise you, if I am taken, and should be hanged, I

won't name you ; I will go to such a house (naming a house at Bromley by Bow, where he and I had often been), and there," says he, "I'll stay till it is dark ; at night I will come near the streets, and I will lie under such a haystack all night (a place we both knew also very well) ; and if you cannot finish to come to me there, I will go back to Bow."

I went back and took the cargo, went to the place by Cloth-Fair, and gave the word *Good Tower standard ;* and without any words, they took the plate, weighed it, and paid me after the rate of 2*s.* per ounce for it ; so I came away and went to meet him, but it was too late to meet him at the first place ; but I went to the haystack, and there I found him fast asleep.

I delivered him his cargo ; what it really amounted to I knew not, for I never told it ; but I went home to my quarters very late and tired. I went to sleep at first, but, notwithstanding I was so weary, I slept little or none for several hours ; at last, being overcome with sleep, I dropped, but was immediately roused with noise of people knocking at the door, as if they would beat it down, and crying and calling out to the people of the house, "Rise, and let in the constable here, we come for your lodger in the garret."

I was frighted to the last degree, and started up in my bed ; but when I was awake, I heard no noise at all, but of two watchmen thumping at the door with their staves, and giving the hour, "Past three o'clock, and a rainy wet morning," for such it was. I was very glad when I found it was but a dream, and went to bed again, but was soon roused a second time with the same, very same noise and words : then, being sooner awaked than I was before, I jumped out of bed, and run to the window, and found it was just an hour more, and the watchmen were come about, "Past four o'clock," and they went away again very quietly ; so I lay me down again, and slept the rest of the night quietly enough.

I laid no stress upon the thing called a dream, neither till now did I understand that dreams were of any importance ; but getting up the next day, and going

out with a resolution to meet brother Will, who should I meet but my former brother, Captain Jack: when he saw me, he came close to me in his blunt way, and says, "Do you hear the news?" "No, not I," said I, "what news?" "Your old comrade and teacher is taken this morning and carried to Newgate." "How," says I, "this morning?" "Yes," says he, "this morning, at four o'clock. He is charged with a robbery and murder, somewhere beyond Brentford; and that which is worse, is, that he is impeached by one of the gang, who, to save his own life, has turned evidence; and therefore you had best consider," says the captain, "what you have to do." "What I have to do!" says I; "and what do you mean by that?" "Nay, Colonel," says he, "don't be angry, you know best; if you are not in danger I am glad of it, but I doubt not but you were with them." "No, not I," said I, again: "I assure you I was not." "Well," says he, "but if you were not with them this bout, you have been with them at other times; and 'twill be all one." "Not I," says I, "you are quite mistaken, I am none of their gang; they are above my quality." With such, and a little more talk of that kind, we parted, and Captain Jack went away; but as he went, I observed he shook his head, seemed to have more concern upon him than I at first apprehended; and, indeed, more than he could be supposed to have merely on my account, of which we shall hear more very quickly.

I was extremely alarmed when I heard Will was in Newgate, and, had I known where to have gone, would certainly have fled as far as legs would have carried me; my very joints trembled, and I was ready to sink into the ground; and all that evening and that night following, I was in the uttermost consternation; my head run upon nothing but Newgate and the gallows, and being hanged; which, I said, I deserved, if it were for nothing but taking that two-and-twenty shillings from the poor old nurse.

The first thing my perplexed thoughts allowed me to take care of was my money. This indeed lay in a little

compass, and I carried it generally all about me. I had got together, as you will perceive by the past account, above 60*l.* (for I spent nothing), and what to do with it I knew not; at last it came into my head that I would go to my benefactor, the clerk at the Custom-House, if he was to be found, and see if I could get him to take the rest of my money: the only business was to make a plausible story to him, that he might not wonder how I came by so much money.

But my invention quickly supplied that want; there was a suit of clothes at one of our houses of rendezvous, which was left there for any of the gang to put on, upon particular occasions, as a disguise: this was a green livery, laced with pink-coloured galloon, and lined with the same; an edged hat, a pair of boots, and a whip. I went and dressed myself up in this livery, and went to my gentleman, to his house in Tower-Street, and there I found him in health, and well, just the same honest gentleman as ever.

He stared at me when first I came to him, for I met him just at his door; I say he stared at me, and seeing me bow, and bow to him several times, with my laced hat under my arm; at last, not knowing me in the least, says he to me, "Dost thou want to speak with me, young man?" and I said, "Yes, sir; I believe your worship (I had learnt some manners now) does not know me; I am the poor boy Jack." He looked hard at me, and then recollecting me presently, says he, "Who, Colonel Jack! why, where hast thou been all this while? why, 'tis five or six years since I saw you." "'Tis above six years, and please your worship," says I.

"Well, and where hast thou been all this while?" says he.

"I have been in the country, sir," says I, "at service."

"Well, Colonel Jack," says he, "you give long credit; what's the reason you han't fetched your money all this while, nor the interest? why, you will grow so rich in time by the interest of your money, you won't know what to do with it."

To that I said nothing, but bowed and scraped a great many times. "Well, come, Colonel Jack," said he, "come in, and I will give you your money, and the interest of it too."

I cringed, and bowed, and told him I did not come to him for my money; for I had had a good place or two, and I did not want my money.

"Well, Colonel Jack," said he, "and who do you live with?"

"Sir Jonathan Loxham," said I, "sir, in Somersetshire, and please your worship." This was a name I had heard of, but knew nothing of any such gentleman, or of the country.

"Well," says he, "but won't you have your money, Jack?"

"No, sir," said I, "if your worship would please, for I have had a good place."

"If I would please to do what, prithee? Your money is ready, I tell thee."

"No, sir," said I, "but I have had a good place."

"Well, and what dost thou mean, Jack? I do not understand thee."

"Why, and please your worship, my old master, Sir Jonathan's father, left me 30*l.* when he died, and a suit of mourning, and——"

"And what, prithee, Jack? what, hast thou brought me more money?" For then he began to understand what I meant.

"Yes, sir," said I, "and your worship would be so good to take it, and put it all together; I have saved some too out of my wages."

"I told you, Jack," says he, "you would be rich; and how much hast thou saved? come, let me see it."

To shorten the story, I pulled it out, and he was content to take it, giving me his note, with interest, for the whole sum, which amounted to 94*l.*, that is to say,

25*l.* The first money.
9*l.* For six years' interest.
60*l.* Now paid him.
94*l.*

I came away exceeding joyful, made him abundance of bows and scrapes, and went immediately to shift my clothes again, with a resolution to run away from London, and see it no more for a great while; but I was surprised the very next morning, when, going cross Rosemary-Lane, by the end of the place which is called Rag-Fair, I heard one call Jack; he had said something before, which I did not hear, but upon hearing the name Jack, I looked about me, immediately saw three men, and after them a constable coming towards me with great fury. I was in a great surprise, and started to run, but one of them clapped in upon me, and got hold of me, and in a moment the rest surrounded me, and I was taken. I asked them what they wanted, and what I had done? They told me it was no place to talk of that there; but showed me their warrant, and bade me read it, and I should know the rest when I came before the justice; so they hurried me away.

I took the warrant, but to my great affliction, I could know nothing by that, for I could not read; so I desired them to read it, and they read it, that they were to apprehend a known thief, that went by the name of one of the three Jacks of Rag-Fair; for that he was charged upon oath with having been a party in a notorious robbery, burglary, and murder, committed so and so, in such a place, and on such a day.

It was to no purpose for me to deny it, or to say I knew nothing of it, that was none of their business they said; that must be disputed, they told me, before the justice, where I would find that it was sworn positively against me, and then, perhaps, I might be better satisfied.

I had no remedy but patience; and, as my heart was full of terror and guilt, so I was ready to die with the weight of it as they carried me along; for as I very well knew that I was guilty of the first day's work, though I was not of the last, so I did not doubt but I should be sent to Newgate, and then I took it for granted I must be hanged; for to go to Newgate, and to be hanged, were to me as things which necessarily followed one another.

But I had a sharp conflict to go through before it came to that part; and that was before the justice; where, when I was come, and the constable brought me in, the justice asked me my name; "But hold," says he, "young man; before I ask you your name, let me do you justice; you are not bound to answer till your accusers come;" so turning to the constable, he asked for his warrant.

"Well," says the justice, "you have brought this young man here by virtue of this warrant; is this young man the person for whom this warrant is granted?"

Con. I believe so, and please your worship.

Just. Believe so! Why, are you not sure of it?

Con. An't please your worship, the people said so where I took him.

Just. It is a very particular kind of warrant; it is to apprehend a young man who goes by the name of Jack, but no surname, only that it is said, he is called Captain Jack, or some other such name. Now, young man, pray is your name Captain Jack? or are you usually called so?

I presently found that the men that took me knew nothing of me, and that the constable had taken me up by hear-say; so I took heart, and told the justice, that I thought, with submission, that it was not the present question, what my name was, but what these men or any one else, had to lay to my charge; whether I was the person who the warrant empowered them to apprehend or no?

He smiled; "'Tis very true, young man," says he, "it is very true; and on my word, if they have taken you up, and do not know you, and there is nobody to charge you, they will be mistaken, to their own damage."

Then I told his worship, I hoped I should not be obliged to tell my name till my accuser was brought to charge me, and then I should not conceal my name.

"It is but reason," said his good worship. "Mr. Constable," turning to the officers, "are you sure this is the person that is intended in your warrant? If you are not, you must fetch the person that accuses him, and on whose oath the warrant was granted." They used many words to insinuate that I was the person, and

that I knew it well enough, and that I should be obliged to tell my name.

I insisted on the unreasonableness of it, and that I should not be obliged to accuse myself; and the justice told them in so many words, that he could not force me to it, that I might do it if I would, indeed; but you see, says the justice, he understood too well, to be imposed upon in that case. So that, in short, after an hour's debating before his worship, in which time I pleaded against four of them, the justice told them they must produce the accuser, or he must discharge me.

I was greatly encouraged at this, and argued with the more vigour for myself; at length the accuser was brought, fettered as he was, from the gaol, and glad I was when I saw him, and found that I knew him not; that is to say, that it was not one of the two rogues that I went out with that night that we robbed the poor old woman.

When the prisoner was brought into the room, he was set right against me.

"Do you know this young man?" says the justice.

"No, sir," says the prisoner, "I never saw him in my life."

"Hum!" says the justice, "did not you charge one that goes by the name of Jack, or Captain Jack, as concerned in the robbery and murder which you are in custody for?"

"Yes, an't please your worship," says the prisoner.

Just. And is this the man, or is he not?

Pris. This is not the man, sir; I never saw this man before.

"Very good: Mr. Constable," says the justice, "what must we do now?"

"I am surprised," says the constable; "I was at such a house," naming the house, "and this young man went by; the people cried out, 'There's Jack, that's your man,' and these people run after him, and apprehended him."

"Well," says the justice, "and have these people anything to say to him? can they prove that he is the person?"

One said no, and the other said no; and, in short, they all said no. "Why then," said the justice, "what can be done? the young man must be discharged; and I must tell you, Mr. Constable, and you gentlemen, that have brought him hither, he may give you trouble if he thinks fit, for your being so rash. But look you, young man," says the justice, "you have no great damage done you, and the constable, though he has been mistaken, had no ill design, but to be faithful to his office; I think you may pass it by."

I told his worship, I would readily pass it by at his direction; but I thought the constable and the rest could do no less than to go back to the place where they had insulted me, and declare publicly there that I was honourably acquitted, and that I was not the man. This his worship said was very reasonable, and the constable and his assistants promised to do it, and so we came all away good friends, and I was cleared with triumph.

NOTE.—This was the time that, as I mentioned above, the justice talked to me, told me I was born to better things, and that by my well managing of my own defence, he did not question but I had been well educated; and that he was sorry I should fall into such a misfortune as this, which he hoped however would be no dishonour to me, since I was so handsomely acquitted.

Though his worship was mistaken in the matter of my education, yet it had this good effect upon me, that I resolved, if it was possible, I would learn to read and write, that I would not be such an uncapable creature, that I should not be able to read a warrant, and see whether I was the person to be apprehended or not.

But there was something more in all this than what I have taken notice of; for, in a word, it appeared plainly, that my brother Captain Jack, who had the forwardness to put it to me, whether I was among them or no, when in truth he was there himself, had the only reason to be afraid to fly, at the same time that he advised me to shift for myself.

As this presently occurred to my thoughts, so I made

it my business to inquire and find him out, and to give him notice of it.

In the mean time, being now confident of my own safety, I had no more concern upon my mind about myself; but now I began to be anxious for poor Will, my master and tutor in wickedness, who was now fast by the heels in Newgate, while I was happily at liberty, and I wanted very much to go and see him, and accordingly did so.

I found him in a sad condition, loaden with heavy irons, and had himself no prospect or hope of escaping; he told me he should die, but bid me be easy; for, as it would do him no good to accuse me, who never was out with any of them but that once, so I might depend upon it, he would not bring me into the trouble; as for the rogue who had betrayed them all, he was not able to hurt me, for I might be satisfied he had never seen me in his life; "but, Colonel Jack," says he, "I will tell you who was with us, and that is, your brother the captain, and the villain has certainly named him; and therefore," says he, "if you can give him timely notice of it, do, that he may make his escape."

He said a great many things to warn me of following the steps he had led me. "I was far out, Jack," said he, "when I told you, to be a notorious thief was to live like a gentleman." He chiefly discovered his concern that they had, as he feared, killed the gentleman's gardener, and that he in particular had given him a wound in the neck, of which he was afraid he would die.

He had a great sum of money in gold about him, being the same that I had carried back to him at the haystack; and he had concealed it so well, that those who took him had not found it, and he gave me the greatest part of it to carry to his mother, which I very honestly delivered, and came away with a heavy heart: nor did I ever see him since, for he was executed in about three weeks' time after, being condemned that very next sessions.

III

After the adventures described above, Colonel Jack was scared out of London. He went to Scotland, where he enlisted in a foot regiment, from which he soon deserted, with intent to return to town; but, being kidnapped by the way, was carried to Virginia instead, where he served, first as a slave, afterwards as an overseer, and planter.

After my disaster, being reduced almost as low as my captain, I found no better shift before me, at least for the present, than to enter myself a soldier too; and thus we were ranked together, with each of us a musket upon our shoulders, and I confess, that thing did not sit so ill upon me as I thought at first it would have done; for, though I fared hard, and lodged ill (for the last, especially, is the fate of poor soldiers in that part of the world), yet to me that had been used to lodge on the ashes in the glass-house, this was no great matter; I had a secret satisfaction at being now under no necessity of stealing, and living in fear of a prison, and of the lash of the hangman; a thing which, from the time I saw it in Edinburgh, was so terrible to me, that I could not think of it without horror; and it was an inexpressible ease to my mind, that I was now in a certain way of living, which was honest, and which I could say was not unbecoming a gentleman.

Whatever was my satisfaction in that part, yet other circumstances did not equally concur to make this life suit me; for after we had been about six months in this figure, we were informed that the recruits were all to march for England, and to be shipped off at Newcastle, or at Hull, to join the regiment which was then in Flanders.

I should tell you, that, before this, I was extremely delighted with the life of a soldier, and I took the exercise so naturally, that the serjeant that taught us to handle our arms, seeing me so ready at it asked me if I had never carried arms before. I told him, no; at which he swore, though jesting, "They call you Colonel," says he, "and I believe you will be a colonel, or you must be some colonel's bastard, or you would

never handle your arms as you do, at once or twice showing."

This pleased me extremely, and encouraged me, and I was mightily taken with the life of a soldier; but when my captain came and told me the news, that we were to march for England, and to be shipped off for Flanders at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, I was surprised very much, and new thoughts began to come in my mind; as, first, my captain's condition was particular, for he durst not appear publicly at Newcastle, as he must have done if he had marched with the battalion (for they were a body of above four hundred, and therefore called themselves a battalion, but though we were recruits, and belonged to the several companies abroad); I say, he must have marched with them, and been publicly seen, in which case he would have been apprehended and delivered up. In the next place, I remembered that I had almost 100*l.* in money in London, and if it should have been asked all the soldiers in the regiment, which of them would go to Flanders, a private sentinel, if they had 100*l.* in their pockets, I believed none of them would answer in the affirmative; 100*l.* being at that time sufficient to buy a colours in any new regiment, though not in that regiment, which was on an old establishment. This whetted my ambition, and I dreamt of nothing but being a gentleman officer, as well as a gentleman soldier.

These two circumstances concurring, I began to be very uneasy, and very unwilling in my thoughts to go over a poor musketeer into Flanders, to be knocked on the head at the tune of 3*s.* 6*d.* a week. While I was daily musing on the circumstances of being sent away, as above, and considering what to do, my captain comes to me one evening; "Hark ye, Jack," says he, "I must speak with you; let us take a walk in the fields a little out from the houses." We were quartered at a place called Park-End, near the town of Dunbar, about twenty miles from Berwick-upon-Tweed, and about sixteen miles from the river Tweed, the nearest way.

We walked together here, and talked seriously upon

the matter ; the captain told me how his case stood, and that he durst not march with the battalion into Newcastle ; that if he did he should be taken out of the ranks and tried for his life, and that I knew as well as he : "I could go privately to Newcastle," says he, "and go through the town well enough, but to go publicly is to run into the jaws of destruction." "Well," says I, "that is very true ; but what will you do ?" "Do !" says he, "do you think I am so bound by honour, as a gentleman soldier, that I will be hanged for them ? No, no," says he, "I am resolved to be gone, and I would have you go with us." Said I, "What do you mean by us ?" "Why, here is another honest fellow, an Englishman also," says he, "that is resolved to desert too, and he has been a long while in their service, and says he knows how we shall be used abroad, and he will not go to Flanders," says he, "not he."

"Why," says I, "you will be shot to death for deserters if you are taken, and they will send out scouts for you in the morning all over the country, so that you will certainly fall into their hands." "As for that," says he, "my comrade is thoroughly acquainted with the way, and has undertaken to bring us to the bank of Tweed, before they can come up with us, and when we are on the other side of the Tweed, they can't take us up."

"And when would you go away ?" says I.

"This minute," says he ; "no time to be lost ; 'tis a fine moon-shining night."

"I have none of my baggage," says I ; "let me go back and fetch my linen, and other things."

"Your linen is not much, I suppose," says he, "and we shall easily get more in England the old way."

"No," says I, "no more of your old ways ; it has been owing to those old ways that we are now in such a strait."

"Well, well," says he, "the old ways are better than this starving life of a gentleman, as we call it."

"But," says I, "we have no money in our pockets, how shall we travel ?"

"I have a little," says the captain ; "enough to help

us on to Newcastle, and if we can get none by the way, we will get some collier ship to take us in, and carry us to London by sea."

"I like that the best of all the measures you have laid yet," said I; and so I consented to go, and went off with him immediately. The cunning rogue having lodged his comrade a mile off under the hills, had dragged me, talking with him, by little and little, that way, till just when I consented, he was in sight, and he said, "Look, there's my comrade!" who I knew presently, having seen him among the men.

Being thus gotten under the hills, and a mile of the way, and the day just shut in, we kept on apace, resolving, if possible, to get out of the reach of our pursuers, before they should miss us, or know anything of our being gone.

We plyed our time so well, and travelled so hard, that by five o'clock in the morning we were at a little village, whose name I forget; but they told us that we were within eight miles of the Tweed; and that as soon as we should be over the river, we were on English ground.

We refreshed a little here, but marched on with but little stay; however, it was half an hour past eight in the morning before we reached the Tweed, so it was at least twelve miles, when they told us it was but eight. Here we overtook two more of the same regiment, who had deserted from Haddington, where another part of the recruits were quartered.

Those were Scotsmen, and very poor, having not one penny in their pockets; and had no more when they made their escape but 8*s.* between them; and when they saw us, who they knew to be of the same regiment, they took us to be pursuers, and that we came to lay hold of them; upon which they stood upon their defence, having the regiment swords on, as we had also, but none of the mounting or clothing; for we were not to receive the clothing till we came to the regiment in Flanders.

It was not long before we made them understand that we were in the same circumstances with themselves,

and so we soon became one company; and after resting some time on the English side of the river (for we were heartily tired, and the others were as much fatigued as we were)—I say, after resting awhile, we set forward towards Newcastle, whither we resolved to go to get our passage by sea to London; for we had not money to hold us out any farther.

Our money was ebbed very low; for, though I had one piece of gold in my pocket, which I kept reserved for the last extremity, yet it was but half-a-guinea, and my captain had borne all our charges as far as his money would go, so that when we came to Newcastle, we had but sixpence left in all to help ourselves, and the two Scots had begged their way all along the road.

We contrived to come into Newcastle in the dusk of the evening, and even then we durst not venture into the public part of the town, but made down towards the river, something below the town, where some glass-houses stand. Here we knew not what to do with ourselves; but, guided by our fate, we put a good face upon the matter and went into an alehouse, sat down, and called for a pint of beer.

The house was kept by a woman only, that is to say, we saw no other; and, as she appeared very frank, and entertained us cheerfully, we at last told her our condition, and asked her if she could not help us to some kind master of a collier, that would give us a passage to London by sea. The subtle devil, who immediately found us proper fish for her hook, gave us the kindest words in the world, and told us she was heartily sorry she had not seen us one day sooner; that there was a collier-master, of her particular acquaintance, that went away but with the morning tide, that the ship was fallen down to Shields, but she believed was hardly over the bar yet, and she would send to his house and see if he was gone on board, for sometimes the masters do not go away till a tide after the ship, and she was sure if he was not gone she could prevail with him to take us all in; but then she was afraid we must go on board immediately, the same night.

We begged of her to send to his house, for we knew not what to do, and if she could oblige him to take us on board, we did not care what time of night it was; for, as we had no money, we had no lodging, and we wanted nothing but to be on board.

We looked upon this as a mighty favour, that she sent to the master's house, and to our greater joy, she brought us word about an hour after that he was not gone, and was at a tavern in the town, whither his boy had been to fetch him; and that he had sent word he would call there in the way home.

This was all in our favour, and we were extremely pleased with it. About an hour after, the landlady being in the room with us, her maid brings us word the master was below; so down she goes to him, telling us she would go and tell him our case, and see to persuade him to take us all on board. After some time she comes up with him, and brings him into the room to us. "Where are these honest gentlemen soldiers," says he, "that are in such distress?" We stood all up, and paid our respects to him. "Well, gentlemen, and is all your money spent?"

"Indeed it is," said one of our company, "and we shall be infinitely obliged to you, sir, if you will give us a passage; we will be very willing to do anything we can in the ship, though we are not seamen."

"Why," says he, "were none of you ever at sea in your lives?"

"No," says we, "not one of us."

"You will be able to do me no service then," says he, "for you will be all sick: Well, however," says he, "for my good landlady's sake here, I'll do it; but are you all ready to go on board, for I go on board this very night?"

"Yes, sir," says we again, "we are ready to go this minute."

"No, no," says he, very kindly, "we'll drink together; come, landlady," says he, "make these honest gentlemen a sneaker of punch."

We looked at one another, for we knew we had no money, and he perceived it; "Come, come," says he,

"don't be concerned at your having no money: my landlady here and I never part with dry lips. Come, goodwife," says he, "make the punch as I bid you."

We thanked him, and said, "God bless you, noble captain," a hundred times over, being overjoyed with such good luck. While we were drinking the punch, he calls the landlady. "Come," says he, "I'll step home and take my things, and bid them good-bye, and order the boat to come at high water and take me up here; and pray, goodwife," says he, "get me something for supper; sure if I can give these honest men their passage, I may give them a bit of victuals too; it may be they han't had much for dinner."

With this away he went, and in a little while we heard the jack a-going, and one of us going down-stairs for a spy, brought us word there was a good leg of mutton at the fire. In less than an hour our captain came again, and came up to us, and blamed us that we had not drank all the punch out; "Come," says he, "don't be bashful, when that's out we can have another; when I am obliging poor men, I love to do it handsomely."

We drank on, and drank the punch out, and more was brought up, and he pushed it about apace; then came up a leg of mutton, and I need not say that we ate heartily, being told several times that we should pay nothing. After supper was done, he bids my landlady ask if the boat was come? And she brought word, no, it was not high water by a good deal; "No!" says he, "well, then, give us some more punch;" so more punch was brought in, and, as was afterwards confessed, something was put into it, or more brandy than ordinary, that by that time the punch was drunk out, we were all very drunk, and, as for me, I was asleep.

About the time that was out, we were told the boat was come; so we tumbled out, almost over one another, into the boat, and away we went, and our captain with us in the boat. Most of us, if not all, fell asleep, till after some time, though how much, or how far going, we knew not, the boat stopped, and we were waked, and told we were at the ship's side, which was true; and with much help and holding us, for fear we should fall overboard, we

were all gotten into the ship. All I remember of it was this, that as soon as we were on board, our captain, as we called him, called out thus : "Here, boatswain, take care of these gentlemen, and give them good cabins, and let them turn in and go to sleep, for they are very weary ;" and so indeed we were, and very drunk too, being the first time I had ever drank any punch in my life.

Well, care was taken of us, according to order, and we were put into very good cabins, where we were sure to go immediately to sleep. In the mean time, the ship, which was indeed just ready to go, and only on notice given had come to an anchor for us at Shields, weighed, stood over the bar, and went off to sea ; and when we waked, and began to peep abroad, which was not till near noon the next day, we found ourselves a great way at sea ; the land in sight, indeed, but at a great distance, and all going merrily on for London, as we understood it. We were very well used, and well satisfied with our condition for about three days, when we began to inquire whether we were not almost come, and how much longer it would be before we should come into the river. "What river ?" says one of the men. "Why, the Thames," says my Captain Jack. "The Thames !" says the seaman, "what do you mean by that ? What, han't you had time enough to be sober yet ?" So Captain Jack said no more, but looked about him like a fool ; when a while after, some other of us asked the like question, and the seamen, who knew nothing of the cheat, began to smell a trick ; and turning to the other Englishman that came with us, "Pray," says he, "where do you fancy you are going, that you ask so often about it ?" "Why, to London," says he, "where should we be going ? We agreed with the captain to carry us to London."

"Not with the captain," says he ; "I dare say, poor men, you are all cheated : and I thought so when I saw you come aboard with that kidnapping rogue Gilliman ; poor men !" adds he, "you are all betrayed. Why, you are going to Virginia, and the ship is bound to Virginia."

The Englishman falls a storming and raving like a

madman; and we, gathering round him, let any man guess, if they can, what was our surprise, and how we were confounded, when we were told how it was; in short, we drew our swords, and began to lay about us, and made such a noise and hurry in the ship, that at last the seamen were obliged to call out for help. The captain commanded us to be disarmed in the first place, which was not however done without giving and receiving some wounds, and afterwards he caused us to be brought to him into the great cabin.

Here he talked calmly to us, that he was really very sorry for what had befallen us; that he perceived we had been trepanned, and that the fellow who had brought us on board was a rogue, that was employed by a sort of wicked merchants not unlike himself; that he supposed he had been represented to us as captain of the ship, and asked us if it was not so? We told him yes, and gave him a large account of ourselves, and how we came to the woman's house to inquire for some master of a collier to get a passage to London, and that this man engaged to carry us to London in his own ship, and the like, as is related above.

He told us he was very sorry for it, and he had no hand in it; but it was out of his power to help us, and let us know very plainly what our condition was; namely, that we were put on board his ship as servants to be delivered at Maryland to such a man, whom he named to us; but that, however, if we would be quiet and orderly in the ship, he would use us well in the passage, and take care we should be used well when we came there, and that he would do anything for us that lay in his power; but if we were unruly and refractory, we could not expect but he must take such measures as to oblige us to be satisfied; and that, in short, we must be handcuffed, carried down between the decks and kept as prisoners, for it was his business to take care that no disturbance must be in the ship.

My captain raved like a madman, swore at the captain, told him he would not fail to cut his throat either on board, or ashore, whenever he came within

his reach; and that if he could not do it now, he would do it after he came to England again, if ever he durst show his face there again; for he might depend upon it, if he was carried away to Virginia, he should find his way to England again; that, if it was twenty year after, he would have satisfaction of him. "Well, young man," says the captain, smiling, "'tis very honestly said, and then I must take care of you while I have you here, and afterwards I must take care of myself." "Do your worst," says Jack, boldly, "I'll pay you home for it one time or other." "I must venture that, young man," says he, still calmly, "but for the present you and I must talk a little"; so he bids the boatswain, who stood near him, secure him, which he did; I spoke to him to be easy and patient, and that the captain had no hand in our misfortune.

"No hand in it! d——n him," said he aloud, "do you think he is not confederate in this villany? Would any honest man receive innocent people on board his ship and not inquire of their circumstances, but carry them away and not speak to them? and now he knows how barbarously we are treated, why does he not set us on shore again; I tell you he is the villain, and none but him; why does he not complete his villany and murder us, and then he will be free from our revenge? but nothing else shall ever deliver him from my hands, but sending us to the d—l, or going thither himself; and I am honester in telling him so fairly, than he has been to me, and am in no passion any more than he is."

The captain was a little shocked at his boldness, for he talked a great deal more of the same kind, with a great deal of spirit and fire, and yet without any disorder in his temper; indeed I was surprised at it, for I never had heard him talk so well, and so much to the purpose in my life. The captain was, I say, a little shocked at it; however, he talked very handsomely to him, and told him, "Look ye, young man, I bear with you the more, because I am sensible your case is very hard; and yet I cannot allow your threatening me neither, and you oblige me by that to be severer with

you than I intended; however, I will do nothing to you, but what your threatening my life makes necessary." The boatswain called out to have him to the gears, as they called it, and to have him taste the cat-o'-nine-tails; all which were terms we did not understand till afterwards, when we were told he should have been whipped and pickled, for they said it was not to be suffered. But the captain said, "No, no, the young man has been really injured, and has reason to be very much provoked; but I have not injured him," says he. And then he protested he had no hand in it; that he was put on board, and we also, by the owners' agent, and for their account; that it was true, that they did always deal in servants, and carried a great many every voyage; but that it was no profit to him as commander, but they were always put on board by the owners, and that it was none of his business to inquire about them; and, to prove that he was not concerned in it, but was very much troubled at so base a thing, and that he would not be instrumental to carry us away against our wills, if the wind and the weather would permit, he would set us on shore again, though, as it blowed then, the wind being at south-west, and a hard gale, and that they were already as far as the Orkneys, it was impossible.

But the captain was the same man; he told him, that let the wind blow how it would, he ought not to carry us away against our consents; and that as to his pretences of his owners and the like, it was saying of nothing to him, for it was he, the captain, that carried us away, and that whatever rogue trepanned us on board (now he knew it), he ought no more to carry us away than murder us; and that he demanded to be set on shore, or else he, the captain, was a thief and a murderer.

The captain continued mild still; and then I put in with an argument, that had like to have brought us all back, if the weather had not really hindered it; which, when I came to understand sea affairs better, I found was indeed so, and that it had been impossible. I told the captain that I was sorry that my brother was so warm, but that our usage was villainous, which he could

not deny. Then I took up the air of what my habit did not agree with; I told him, that we were not people to be sold for slaves, that though we had the misfortune to be in a circumstance that obliged us to conceal ourselves, having disguised ourselves, to get out of the army, as being not willing to go into Flanders, yet that we were men of substance, and able to discharge ourselves from the service when it came to that; and, to convince him of it, I told him I would give him sufficient security to pay 20*l.* apiece for my brother and myself; and in as short time as we could send from the place he should put in to London, and receive a return. And, to show that I was able to do it, I pulled out my bill for 94*l.* from the gentleman of the Custom-House, and who, to my infinite satisfaction, he knew as soon as he saw the bill. He was astonished at this; and, lifting up his hands, "By what witchcraft," says he, "were you brought hither?"

"As to that," says I, "we have told you the story, and we add nothing to it; but we insist upon it that you will do this justice to us now." "Well," says he, "I am very sorry for it, but I cannot answer putting back the ship; neither if I could," says he, "is it practicable to be done."

While this discourse lasted, the two Scotsmen and the other Englishman were silent; but as I seemed to acquiesce, the Scotsmen began to talk to the same purpose, which I need not repeat, and had not mentioned, but for a merry passage that followed. After the Scotsmen had said all they could, and the captain still told them they must submit—"And will you then carry us to Virginia?" "Yes," says the captain. "And will we be sold," says the Scotsman, "when we come there?" "Yes," says the captain. "Why then, sir," says the Scotsman, "the devil will have you at the hinder end of the bargain." "Say you so?" says the captain, smiling; "well, well, let the devil and I alone to agree about that: do you be quiet, and behave civilly as you should do, and you shall be used as kindly, both here and there too, as I can." The poor

Scotsmen could say little to it, nor I, nor any of us; for we saw there was no remedy, but to leave the devil and the captain to agree among themselves, as the captain had said, as to the honesty of it.

Thus, in short, we were all, I say, obliged to acquiesce, but my captain, who was so much the more obstinate when he found that I had a fund to make such an offer upon; nor could all my persuasions prevail with him. The captain of the ship and he had many pleasant dialogues about this in the rest of the voyage, in which Jack never treated him with any language but that of kidnapper, and villain, nor talked of anything but of taking his revenge of him; but I omit that part, though very diverting, as being no part of my own story.

In short, the wind continued to blow hard, though very fair, till, as the seamen said, we were past the Islands on the north of Scotland, and that we began to steer away westerly, and then in a few days (which I came to understand since), as there was no land any way, for many hundred leagues, so we had no remedy but patience, and to be as easy as we could; only my surly Captain Jack continued the same man all the way.

We had a very good voyage, no storms all the way, and a northerly wind almost twenty days together; so, that, in a word, we made the capes of Virginia in two-and-thirty days, from the day we steered west, as I have said, which was in the latitude of 60 degrees 30 minutes, being to the north of the isle of Great Britain; and this they said was a very quick passage.

Nothing material happened to me during the voyage; and indeed, when I came there, I was obliged to act in so narrow a compass, that nothing very material could present itself.

When we came ashore, which was in a great river, which they call Potomac, the captain asked us, but me more particularly, whether I had anything to propose to him now? Jack answered, "Yes, I have something to propose to you, captain; that is, that I have promised you to cut your throat, and depend upon it I will be as good as my word." "Well, well," says the captain,

"if I can't help it, you shall"; so he turned away to me. I understood him very well what he meant; but I was now out of the reach of any relief; and as for my note, it was now but a bit of paper of no value, for nobody could receive it but myself. I saw no remedy, and so talked coldly to him of it as of a thing I was indifferent about; and indeed I was grown indifferent, for I considered all the way on the voyage, that as I was bred a vagabond, had been a pickpocket and a soldier, and was run from my colours, and that I had no settled abode in the world, nor any employ to get anything by, except that wicked one I was bred to, which had the gallows at the heels of it, I did not see but that this service might be as well to me as other business. And this I was particularly satisfied with, when they told me, that after I had served out the five years' servitude, I should have the courtesy of the country (as they called it), that is, a certain quantity of land to cultivate and plant for myself. So that now I was like to be brought up to something by which I might live, without that wretched thing called stealing; which my very soul abhorred, and which I had given over, as I have said, ever since that wicked time that I robbed the poor widow of Kentish-Town.

In this mind I was when I arrived at Virginia; and so, when the captain inquired of me what I intended to do, and whether I had anything to propose, that is to say, he meant whether I would give him my bill, which he wanted to be fingering very much; I answered coldly, My bill would be of no use to me now, for nobody would advance anything upon it; only this I would say to him, that if he would carry me and Captain Jack back to England, and to London again, I would pay him the 20*l.* off of my bill for each of us. This he had no mind to; "For as to your brother," says he, "I would not take him into my ship for twice 20*l.*, he is such a hardened desperate villain," says he, "I should be obliged to carry him in irons as I brought him hither."

Thus we parted with our captain or kidnapper, call him as you will. We were then delivered to the

merchants, to whom we were consigned, who again disposed of us as they thought fit; and in a few days we were separated.

As for my Captain Jack, to make short of the story, that desperate rogue had the good luck to have a very easy good master, whose easiness and good humour he abused very much; and, in particular, took an opportunity to run away with a boat, which his master entrusted him and another with, to carry some provisions down the river to another plantation which he had there. This boat and provisions they ran away with, and sailed north to the bottom of the bay, as they call it, and into a river called Susquehanna, and there, quitting the boat, they wandered through the woods, till they came into Pennsylvania, from whence they made shift to get passage to New-England and from thence home; where, falling in among his old companions, and to the old trade, he was at length taken and hanged, about a month before I came to London, which was near twenty years afterward.

My part was harder at the beginning, though better at the latter end; I was disposed of, that is to say, sold, to a rich planter, whose name was Smith, and with me the other Englishman, who was my fellow-deserter, that Jack brought to me when we went off from Dunbar.

We were now fellow-servants, and it was our lot to be carried up a small river or creek, which falls into Potomac river, about eight miles from the great river. Here we were brought to the plantation, and put in among about fifty servants, as well negroes as others; and being delivered to the head man, or director, or manager of the plantation, he took care to let us know that we must expect to work, and very hard too; for it was for that purpose his master bought servants, and for no other. I told him, very submissively, that since it was our misfortune to come into such a miserable condition as we were in, we expected no other; only we desired we might be showed our business, and be allowed to learn it gradually, since he might be sure we had not been used to labour; and, I added, that when

he knew particularly by what methods we were brought and betrayed into such a condition, he would perhaps see cause at least to show us that favour, if not more. This I spoke with such a moving tone, as gave him a curiosity to inquire into the particulars of our story, which I gave him at large, a little more to our advantage too than ordinary.

This story, as I hoped it would, did move him to a sort of tenderness ; but yet he told us, that his master's business must be done, and that he expected we must work as above ; that he could not dispense with that upon any account whatever. Accordingly, to work we went ; and indeed we had three hard things attending us ; namely, we worked hard, lodged hard, and fared hard. The first I had been an utter stranger to, the last I could shift well enough with.

During this scene of life, I had time to reflect on my past hours, and upon what I had done in the world ; and though I had no great capacity of making a clear judgement, and very little reflections from conscience, yet it made some impressions upon me ; and particularly that I was brought into this miserable condition of a slave, by some strange directing power, as a punishment for the wickedness of my younger years ; and this thought was increased upon the following occasion ; the master, whose service I was now engaged in, was a man of substance and figure in the country, and had abundance of servants, as well negroes as English ; in all, I think, he had near two hundred ; and among so many, as some grew every year infirm and unable to work, others went off upon their time being expired, and others died ; and by these and other accidents the number would diminish, if they were not often recruited and filled, and this obliged him to buy more every year.

It happened while I was here, that a ship arrived from London with several servants, and among the rest was seventeen transported felons, some burnt in the hand, others not ; eight of whom my master bought for the time specified in the warrant for their transportation respectively, some for a longer, some for a shorter term of years.

Our master was a great man in the country, and a justice of peace, though he seldom came down to the plantation where I was; yet as the new servants were brought on shore, and delivered at our plantation, his worship came thither, in a kind of state, to see and receive them. When they were brought before him, I was called, among other servants, as a kind of guard, to take them into custody after he had seen them, and to carry them to the work. They were brought by a guard of seamen from the ship, and the second mate of the ship came with them, and delivered them to our master, with the warrant for their transportation, as above.

When his worship had read over the warrants, he called them over by their names, one by one, and having let them know, by his reading the warrants over again to each man respectively, that he knew for what offences they were transported, he talked to every one separately very gravely; let them know how much favour they had received in being saved from the gallows, which the law had appointed for their crimes; that they were not sentenced to be transported, but to be hanged, and that transportation was granted them upon their own request and humble petition.

Then he laid before them, that they ought to look upon the life they were just a-going to enter upon as just beginning the world again; that if they thought fit to be diligent and sober, they would, after the time they were ordered to serve was expired, be encouraged by the constitution of the country to settle and plant for themselves; and that even he himself would be so kind to them, that if he lived to see any of them serve their time faithfully out, it was his custom to assist his servants in order to their settling in that country, according as their behaviour might merit from him; and they would see and know several planters round about them, who now were in very good circumstances, and who formerly were only his servants, in the same condition with them, and came from the same place, that is to say, Newgate; and some of them had the mark of it in their hands, but were now very honest men and lived in very good repute.

Among the rest of his new servants, he came to a young fellow not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and his warrant mentioned that he was, though a young man, yet an old offender; that he had been several times condemned, but had been respited or pardoned, but still he continued an incorrigible pick-pocket; that the crime for which he was now transported, was for picking a merchant's pocket-book, or letter-case, out of his pocket, in which was bills of exchange for a very great sum of money; that he had afterward received the money upon some of the bills, but that going to a goldsmith in Lombard-Street with another bill, and having demanded the money, he was stopped, notice having been given of the loss of them; that he was condemned to die for the felony, and being so well known for an old offender, had certainly died, but the merchant, upon his earnest application, had obtained that he should be transported, on condition that he restored all the rest of the bills, which he had done accordingly.

Our master talked a long time to this young fellow; mentioned, with some surprise, that he so young should have followed such a wicked trade so long as to obtain the name of an old offender at so young an age; and that he should be styled incorrigible, which is to signify, that notwithstanding his being whipt two or three times, and several times punished by imprisonment, and once burnt in the hand, yet nothing would do him any good, but that he was still the same. He talked mighty religiously to this boy, and told him, God had not only spared him from the gallows, but had now mercifully delivered him from the opportunity of committing the same sin again, and put it into his power to live an honest life, which perhaps he knew not how to do before; and though some part of his life now might be laborious, yet he ought to look on it to be no more than being put out apprentice to an honest trade, in which, when he came out of his time, he might be able to set up for himself and live honestly.

Then he told him, that while he was a servant he

would have no opportunity to be dishonest, so when he came to be for himself he would have no temptation to it; and so after a great many other kind things said to him and the rest, they were dismissed.

I was exceedingly moved at this discourse of our master's, as anybody would judge I must be, when it was directed to such a young rogue, born a thief, and bred up a pickpocket, like myself; for I thought all my master said was spoken to me, and sometimes it came into my head that sure my master was some extraordinary man, and that he knew all things that ever I had done in my life.

But I was surprised to the last degree, when my master, dismissing all the rest of us servants, pointed at me, and speaking to his head clerk, "Here," says he, "bring that young fellow hither to me."

I had been near a year in the work, and I had plied it so well, that the clerk, or head man, either flattered me, or did really believe that I behaved very well; but I was terribly frighted to hear myself called out aloud, just as they used to call for such as had done some misdemeanour, and were to be lashed or otherwise corrected.

I came in like a malefactor indeed, and thought I looked like one just taken in the fact, and carried before the justice; and indeed when I came in, for I was carried into an inner-room, or parlour, in the house to him—his discourse to the rest was in a large hall, where he sat in a seat like a lord judge upon the bench, or a petty king upon his throne—when I came in, I say, he ordered his man to withdraw, and I standing half-naked, and bare-headed, with my haugh, or hoe, in my hand (the posture and figure I was in at my work), near the door, he bade me lay down my hoe and come nearer. Then he began to look a little less stern and terrible than I fancied him to look before, or, perhaps, both his countenance then and before might be to my imagination differing from what they really were; for we do not always judge those things by the real temper of the person, but by the measure of our apprehensions.

"Hark ye, young man, how old are you?" says my master, and so our dialogue began.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I do not know.

Mast. What is your name?

Jack. They call me Colonel[1] here, but my name is Jack, an't please your worship.

Mast. But prithee, what is thy name?

Jack. Jack.

Mast. What is thy christian name then, Colonel, and thy surname, Jack?

Jack. Truly, sir, to tell your honour the truth, I know little or nothing of myself,[2] nor what my true name is; but thus I have been called ever since I remember; which is my christian name, or which my surname, or whether I was ever christened or not, I cannot tell.

Mast. Well, however, that's honestly answered. Pray how came you hither, and on what account are you made a servant here?

Jack. I wish your honour could have patience with me to hear the whole story; it is the hardest and most unjust thing that ever came before you.

Mast. Say you so? tell it me at large then; I'll hear it, I promise that, if it be an hour long.

This encouraged me, and I began at my being a soldier, and being persuaded to desert at Dunbar, and gave him all the particulars, as they are related above, to the time of my coming on shore, and the captain talking to me about my bill after I arrived here. He held up his hands several times as I went on, expressing his abhorrence of the usage I had met with at Newcastle, and inquired the name of the master of the ship; for, said he, that captain, for all his smooth words, must be a rogue. So I told him his name, and the name of the ship, and he took it down in his book, and then we went on.

Mast. But pray answer me, honestly too, to another

[1] I was not called Colonel Jack, as at London, but Colonel, and they did not know me by any other name.—ORIG. NOTE.

[2] Note, he did not now talk quite so blindly and childishly as when he was a boy, and when the Custom-House gentleman talked to him about his names.—ORIG. NOTE.

question, what was it made you so much concerned at my talking to the boy there, the pickpocket?

Jack. An't please your honour, it moved me to hear you talk so kindly to a poor slave.

Mast. And was that all? Speak truly now.

Jack. No, indeed, but a secret wish came into my thoughts, that you that were so good to such a creature as that, could but one way or other know my case, and that if you did, you would certainly pity me, and do something for me.

Mast. Well, but was there nothing in his case that hit with your own, that made you so affected with it, for I saw tears come from your eyes, and it was that made me call to speak to you.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I have been a wicked idle boy, and was left desolate in the world: but that boy is a thief, and condemned to be hanged; I never was before a court of justice in my life.

Mast. Well, I won't examine you too far; if you were never before a court of justice, and are not a criminal transported, I have nothing farther to inquire of you. You have been ill used, that's certain, and was it that that affected you?

Jack. Yes, indeed, please your honour (we all called him his honour, or his worship).

Mast. Well, now I do know your case, what can I do for you? You speak of a bill of 94*l.* of which you would have given the captain 40*l.* for your liberty, have you that bill in your keeping still?

Jack. Yes, sir, here it is. I pulled it out of the waistband of my drawers, where I always found means to preserve it, wrapped up in a piece of paper, and pinned to the waistband, and yet almost worn out too with often pinning and removing; so I gave it to him to read, and he read it.

Mast. And is this gentleman in being that gave you the bill?

Jack. Yes, sir, he was alive and in good health when I came from London, which you may see by the date of the bill, for I came away the next day.

Mast. I do not wonder that the captain of the ship was willing to get this bill of you when you came on shore here.

Jack. I would have given it into his possession, if he would have carried me and my brother back again to England, and have taken what he asked for us out of it.

Mast. Aye, but he knew better than that too; he knew if you had any friends there, they would call him to an account for what he had done; but I wonder he did not take it from you while you were at sea, either by fraud or by force.

Jack. He did not attempt that indeed.

Mast. Well, young man, I have a mind to try if I can do you any service in this case. On my word, if the money can be paid, and you can get it safe over, I might put you in a way how to be a better man than your master, if you will be honest and diligent.

Jack. As I behave myself in your service, sir, you will I hope judge of the rest.

Mast. But perhaps you hanker after returning to England.

Jack. No, indeed, sir, if I can but get my bread honestly here, I have no mind to go to England; for I know not how to get my bread there; if I had, I had not 'listed for a soldier.

Mast. Well, but I must ask you some questions about that part hereafter; for 'tis indeed something strange that you should 'list for a soldier, when you had 94*l.* in your pocket.

Jack. I shall give your worship as particular account of that as I have of the other part of my life, if you please, but 'tis very long.

Mast. Well, we will have that another time; but to the case in hand; are you willing I should send to anybody at London to talk with that gentleman that gave you the bill; not to take the money of him, but to ask him only whether he has so much money of yours in his hands; and whether he will part with it when you shall give order, and send the bill, or a duplicate of it; that

is, says he, the copy? and it was well he did say so, for I did not understand the word duplicate at all.

Jack. Yes, sir, I will give you the bill itself, if you please, I can trust it with you though I could not with him.

Mast. No, no, young man, I won't take it from you.

Jack. I wish your worship would please to keep it for me, for if I should lose it then I am quite undone.

Mast. I will keep it for you, Jack, if you will, but then you shall have a note under my hand, signifying that I have it, and will return it you upon demand, which will be as safe to you as the bill; I won't take it else.

So I gave my master the bill, and he gave me his note for it; and he was a faithful steward for me, as you will hear in its place. After this conference I was dismissed and went to my work; but about two hours after, the steward, or the overseer of the plantation, came riding by, and coming up to me as I was at work, pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and calling me to him gave me a dram of rum; when, in good manners, I had taken but a little sup, he held it out to me again, and bade me take another; and spoke wondrous civilly to me, quite otherwise that he used to do.

This encouraged me, and heartened me very much, but yet I had no particular view of anything, or which way I should have any relief.

A day or two after, when we were all going out to our work in the morning, the overseer called me to him again, and gave me a dram, and a good piece of bread, and bade me come off from my work about one o'clock, and come to him to the house, for he must speak with me.

When I came to him, I came to be sure in the ordinary habit of a poor half-naked slave. "Come hither, young man," says he, "and give me your hoe." When I gave it him, "Well," says he, "you are to work no more in this plantation."

I looked surprised, and as if I was frighted. "What have I done, sir?" said I, "and whither am I to be sent away?"

"Nay, nay," says he, and looked very pleasantly, "do not be frighted, 'tis for your good, 'tis not to hurt

you; I am ordered to make an overseer of you, and you shall be a slave no longer."

"Alas!" says I to him, "I an overseer! I am in no condition for it, I have no clothes to put on, no linen, nothing to help myself."

"Well, well," says he, "you may be better used than you are aware of; come hither with me." So he led me into a vast great warehouse, or, rather, set of warehouses, one within another, and calling the warehouse-keeper, "Here," says he, "you must clothe this man, and give him everything necessary, upon the foot of number five, and give the bill to me; our master has ordered me to allow it in the account of the west plantation." That was, it seems, the plantation where I was to go.

Accordingly, the warehouse-keeper carried me into an inner warehouse, where were several suits of clothes of the sort his orders mentioned: which were plain, but good sorts of clothes, ready made, being of a good broadcloth, about 11*s.* a yard in England, and with this he gave me three good shirts, two pair of shoes, stockings and gloves, a hat, six neckcloths, and, in short, everything I could want; and when he had looked everything out, and fitted them, he lets me into a little room by itself. "Here," says he, "go in there a slave, and come out a gentleman;" and with that carried everything into the room, and, shutting the door, bid me put them on, which I did most willingly; and now you may believe, that I began to hope for something better than ordinary.

In a little while after this, came the overseer, and gave me joy of my new clothes, and told me I must go with him: so I was carried to another plantation, larger than that where I worked before, and where there were two overseers, or clerks; one within doors, and one without. This last was removed to another plantation, and I was placed there in his room, that is to say, as the clerk without doors, and my business was to look after the servants and negroes, and take care that they did their business, provide

their food, and, in short, both govern and direct them.

I was elevated to the highest degree in my thoughts at this advancement, and it is impossible for me to express the joy of my mind upon this occasion; but there came a difficulty upon me, that shocked me so violently, and went so against my very nature, that I really had almost forfeited my place about it, and in all appearance, the favour of our master who had been so generous to me; and this was, that when I entered upon my office, I had a horse given me and a long horsewhip, like what we call in England a hunting-whip. The horse was to ride up and down all over the plantation, to see the servants and negroes did their work, and, the plantation being so large, it could not be done on foot, at least so often and so effectually as was required; and the horsewhip was given me to correct and lash the slaves and servants when they proved negligent or quarrelsome, or, in short, were guilty of any offence. This part turned the very blood within my veins, and I could not think of it with any temper, that I, who was but yesterday a servant or slave like them, and under the authority of the same lash, should lift up my hand to the cruel work which was my terror but the day before. This, I say, I could not do; insomuch that the negroes perceived it, and I had soon so much contempt upon my authority, that we were all in disorder.

The ingratitude of their return for the compassion I showed them provoked me, I confess, and a little hardened my heart; and I began with the negroes, two of whom I was obliged to correct; and I thought I did it most cruelly; but after I had lashed them till every blow I struck them hurt myself, and I was ready to faint at the work, the rogues laughed at me, and one of them had the impudence to say, behind my back, that, if he had the whipping of me, he would show me better how to whip a negro.

Well, however, I had no power to do it in such a barbarous manner as I found it was necessary to have

it done; and the defect began to be a detriment to our master's business, and now I began indeed to see that the cruelty so much talked of, used in Virginia and Barbadoes, and other colonies, in whipping the negro slaves, was not so much owing to the tyranny and passion, and cruelty of the English as had been reported; the English not being accounted to be of a cruel disposition, and really are not so; but that it is owing to the brutality and obstinate temper of the negroes, who cannot be managed by kindness and courtesy, but must be ruled with a rod of iron, beaten with scorpions, as the Scripture calls it, and must be used as they do use them, or they would rise and murder all their masters; which, their numbers considered, would not be hard for them to do, if they had arms and ammunition suitable to the rage and cruelty of their nature.

But I began to see at the same time that this brutal temper of the negroes was not rightly managed; that they did not take the best course with them to make them sensible, either of mercy or punishment; and it was evident to me that even the worst of those tempers might be brought to a compliance, without the lash, or at least without so much of it as they generally inflicted.

IV

On receiving his liberty, he starts planting on his own account.

In this manner I carried on the plantation fully to his satisfaction; and before a year more was expired, there was scarce any such thing as correction known in the plantation, except upon a few boys, who were incapable of the impressions that good usage would have made, even upon them too, till they had lived to know the difference.

It was some time after this conference, that our great master, as we called him, sent for me again to his dwelling-house, and told me he had had an answer from England from his friend, to whom he had written about my bill. I was a little afraid that he was going to ask me leave to send it to London; but he did not say any-

thing like that, but told me that his friend had been with the gentleman, and that he owned the bill, and that he had all the money in his hand that the bill had mentioned; but that he had promised the young man that had given him the money (meaning me) not to pay the money to anybody but himself, though they should bring the bill; the reason of which was, that I did not know who might get the bill away from me.

"But now, Colonel Jack," says he, "as you wrote him an account where you was, and by what wicked arts you were trepanned, and that it was impossible for you to have your liberty till you could get the money; my friend at London has written to me, that, upon making out a due copy of the bill here, attested by a notary and sent to him, and your obligation likewise attested, whereby you oblige yourself to deliver the original to his order, after the money is paid, he will pay the money."

I told him I was willing to do whatever his honour directed; and so the proper copies were drawn as I had been told were required.

"But now, what will you do with this money, Jack?" says he, smiling; "will you buy your liberty of me, and go to planting?"

I was too cunning for him now indeed, for I remembered what he had promised me; and I had too much knowledge of the honesty of his principles, as well as of the kindness he had for me, to doubt his being as good as his word; so I turned all this talk of his upon him another way. I knew that when he asked me if I would buy my liberty and go to planting, it was to try if I would leave him; so I said, "As to buying my liberty, sir, that is to say, going out of your service, I had much rather buy more time in your service, and I am only unhappy that I have but two year to serve."

"Come, come, Colonel," says he, "don't flatter me; I love plain dealing; liberty is precious to everybody; if you have a mind to have your money brought over, you shall have your liberty to begin for yourself, and I will take care you shall be well used by the country, and get you a good plantation."

I still insisted that I would not quit his service for the best plantation in Maryland; that he had been so good to me, and I believed I was so useful to him, that I could not think of it; and at last I added, I hoped he could not believe but I had as much gratitude as a negro.

He smiled, and said he would not be served upon those terms; that he did not forget what he had promised, nor what I had done in his plantation, and that he was resolved in the first place to give me my liberty. So he pulls out a piece of paper, and throws it to me: "There," says he, "there's a certificate of your coming on shore, and being sold to me for five years, of which you have lived three with me, and now you are your own master."

I bowed, and told him that I was sure if I was my own master, I would be his servant as long as he would accept of my service; and now we strained courtesies, and he told me I should be his servant still; but it should be on two conditions, first, that he would give me 30*l.* a-year and my board, for my managing the plantation I was then employed in; and secondly, that at the same time he would procure me a new plantation to begin upon for my own account. "For, Colonel Jack," says he, smiling, "though you are but a young man, yet 'tis time you were doing something for yourself."

I answered, that I could do little at a plantation for myself, unless I neglected his business, which I was resolved not to do on any terms whatever; but that I would serve him faithfully, if he would accept of me, as long as he lived. "So you shall," says he again, "and serve yourself too." And thus we parted for that time.

Here I am to observe in the general, to avoid dwelling too long upon a story, that as the two negroes, who I delivered from punishment, were ever after the most diligent and laborious poor fellows in the whole plantation as above, except Mouchat, of whom I shall speak more by and by, so they not only were grateful themselves for their good usage, but they influenced

the whole plantation: so that the gentle usage and lenity with which they had been treated, had a thousand times more influence upon them to make them diligent, than all the blows and kicks, whippings, and other tortures could have, which they had been used to, and now the plantation was famous for it; so that several other planters began to do the same, though I cannot say it was with the same success, which might be for want of taking pains with them, and working upon their passions in a right manner. It appeared that negroes were to be reasoned into things as well as other people, and it was by thus managing their reason that most of the work was done.

However, as it was, the plantations in Maryland were the better for this undertaking, and they are to this day less cruel and barbarous to their negroes, than they are in Barbadoes and Jamaica; and 'tis observed the negroes are not in these colonies so desperate, neither do they so often run away, or so often plot mischief against their master, as they do in those.

I have dwelt the longer upon it, that, if possible, posterity might be persuaded to try gentler methods with those miserable creatures, and to use them with humanity; assuring them that if they did so, adding the common prudence that every particular case would direct them to for itself, the negroes would do their work faithfully and cheerfully; they would not find any of that refractoriness and sullenness in their temper that they pretend now to complain of, but they would be the same as their Christian servants, except that they would be the more thankful, and humble, and laborious of the two.

I continued in this station between five and six year after this, and in all that time we had not one negro whipped, except, as I observed before, now and then an unlucky boy, and that only for trifles: I cannot say but we had some ill-natured, ungovernable negroes; but if at any time such offended, they were pardoned the first time, in the manner as above, and the second time were ordered to be turned out of the

plantation ; and this was remarkable, that they would torment themselves at the apprehension of being turned away, more by a great deal than if they had been to be whipped, for then they were only sullen, and heavy ; nay, at length we found the fear of being turned out of the plantation had as much effect to reform them, that is to say, make them more diligent, than any torture would have done ; and the reason was evident, namely, because in our plantation they were used like men, in the other like dogs.

My master owned the satisfaction he took in this blessed change, as he called it, as long as he lived ; and as he was so engaged by seeing the negroes grateful, he showed the same principle of gratitude to those that served him, as he looked for in those that he served ; and particularly to me, and so I come briefly to that part. The first thing he did after giving me my liberty as above, and making me an allowance, was to get the country bounty to me, that is to say, of a quantity of land to begin and plant for myself.

But this he managed a way by himself ; and as I found afterwards, took up, that is, purchased in my name, about three hundred acres of land, in a more convenient place than it would have otherwise been allotted me : and this he did by his interest with the lord proprietor ; so that I had an extent of ground marked out to me, not next, but very near one of his own plantations. When I made my acknowledgment for this to him, he told me plainly that I was not beholden to him for it at all ; for he did it that I might not be obliged to neglect his business for the carrying on my own, and on that account he would not reckon to me what money he paid, which, however, according to the custom of the country, was not a very great sum; I think about 40*l.* or 50*l.*

Thus he very generously gave me my liberty, advanced this money for me, put me into a plantation for myself, and gave me 30*l.* a year wages for looking after one of his own plantations.

"But, Colonel," says he to me, "giving you this

plantation is nothing at all to you, if I do not assist you to support it and to carry it on; and therefore I will give you credit for whatever is needful to you for the carrying it on; such as tools, provisions for servants, and some servants to begin; materials to build out-houses, and conveniences of all sorts for the plantation, and to buy hogs, cows, horses for stock, and the like, and I'll take it out of your cargo, which will come from London, for the money of your bill."

This was highly obliging and very kind, and the more so, as it afterwards appeared. In order to this, he sent two servants of his own, who were carpenters; as for timber, boards, planks, and all sorts of such things, in a country almost all made of wood, they could not be wanting: these run me up a little wooden house in less than three weeks' time, where I had three rooms, a kitchen, an out-house, and two large sheds at a distance from the house, for store-houses, almost like barns, with stables at the end of them; and thus I was set up in the world, and, in short, removed by the degrees that you have heard, from a pickpocket to a kidnapped miserable slave in Virginia (for Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance); then from a slave to a head officer or overseer of slaves, and from thence to a master planter.

I had now, as above, a house, a stable, two ware-houses, and three hundred acres of land; but, as we say, bare walls make giddy hussies, so I had neither axe nor hatchet to cut down[1] the trees; horse or hog, or cow to put upon the land; not a hoe, or a spade, to break ground, nor a pair of hands but my own to go to work upon.

But heaven and kind masters make up all those things to a diligent servant; and I mention it, because people who are either transported or otherwise trepanned into those places, are generally thought to be rendered

[1] Note. All the land before it is planted is overgrown with high trees, which must be cut down and grubbed up before anything called planting can be begun.—ORIG. NOTE.

miserable and undone; whereas, on the contrary, I would encourage them, upon my own experience, to depend upon it, that if their own diligence in the time of service gains them but a good character, which it will certainly do if they can deserve it, there is not the poorest and most despicable felon that ever went over, but may, after his time is served, begin for himself, and may in time be sure of raising a good plantation.

For example, I will now take a man in the meanest circumstances of a servant, who has served out his five or seven years; suppose a transported wretch for seven years. The custom of the place was then—what it is since I know not—that on his master's certifying that he had served his time out faithfully, he had fifty acres of land allotted him for planting, and on this plan he begins.

Some had a horse, a cow, and three hogs given, or rather lent them, as a stock for the land, which they made an allowance for at a certain time and rate.

Custom has made it a trade to give credit to such beginners as these, for tools, clothes, nails, iron-work, and other things necessary for their planting; and which the persons, so giving credit to them, are to be paid for out of the crop of tobacco which they shall plant; nor is it in the debtor's power to defraud the creditor of payment in that manner; and as tobacco is their coin, as well as their product, so all things are to be purchased at a certain quantity of tobacco, the price being so rated.

Thus the naked planter has credit at his beginning, and immediately goes to work, to cure the land, and plant tobacco; and from this little beginning have some of the most considerable planters in Virginia, and in Maryland also, raised themselves; namely, from being without a hat, or a shoe, to estates of 40 or 50,000*l.*; and in this method, I may add, no diligent man ever miscarried, if he had health to work, and was a good husband; for he every year increases a little, and every year adding more land, and planting more tobacco, which is real money, he must gradually increase in sub-

stance, till at length he gets enough to buy negroes and other servants, and then never works himself any more.

In a word, every Newgate wretch, every desperate forlorn creature, the most despicable ruined man in the world, has here a fair opportunity put into his hands to begin the world again, and that upon a foot of certain gain, and in a method exactly honest; with a reputation that nothing past will have any effect upon; and innumerable people have thus raised themselves from the worst circumstance in the world, namely, from the condemned hole in Newgate.

But I return to my own story: I was now a planter, and encouraged by a kind benefactor; for, that I might not be wholly taken up with my new plantation, he gave me freely, and without any consideration, my grateful negro Mouchat. He told me it was a debt due to the affection that poor creature had always had for me, and so indeed it was, for as the fellow would once have been hanged for me, so now, and to his last, he loved me so much, that it was apparent he did everything with pleasure that he did for me; and he was so overcome of joy when he heard that he was to be my negro, that the people in the plantation really thought it would turn his head, and that the fellow would go distracted.

Besides this, he sent me two servants more, a man and a woman, but these he put to my account, as above. Mouchat and these two fell immediately to work for me, and they began with about two acres of land which had but little timber on it at first, and most of that was cut down by the two carpenters who built my house, or shed rather, for so it should be called.

These two acres I got in good forwardness, and most of it well planted with tobacco; though some of it we were obliged to plant with garden-stuff for food, such as potatoes, carrots, cabbages, peas, beans, &c.

It was a great advantage to me, that I had so bountiful a master, who helped me out in every case; for in this very first year I received a terrible blow; for my bill, as I have observed, having been copied, and attested in

form, and sent to London, my kind friend and Custom-House gentleman paid me the money, and the merchant at London, by my good master's direction, had laid it all out in a sorted cargo of goods for me, such as would have made a man of me all at once; but to my inexpressible terror and surprise, the ship was lost, and that just at the entrance into the capes, that is to say, the mouth of the bay. Some of the goods were recovered, but spoiled, and, in short, nothing but the nails, tools and iron-work, were good for anything; and though the value of them was pretty considerable in proportion to the rest, yet my loss was irreparably great, and, indeed, the greatness of the loss to me consisted in its being irreparable.

I was perfectly astonished at the first news of the loss, knowing that I was in debt to my patron, or master, so much, that it must be several years before I should recover it; and as he brought me the bad news himself, he perceived my disorder, that is to say, he saw I was in the utmost confusion, and a kind of amazement, and so indeed I was, because I was so much in debt; but he spoke cheerfully to me; "Come," says he, "do not be so discouraged, you may make up this loss." "No, sir," says I, "that never can be, for 'tis my all, and I shall never be out of debt." "Well," says he, "you have no creditor, however, but me; and now remember I once told you I would make a man of you, and I will not disappoint you for this disaster."

I thanked him, and did it with more ceremony and respect than ever, because I thought myself more under the hatches than I was before. But he was as good as his word, for he did not balk me in the least of anything I wanted; and as I had more iron-work saved out of the ship, in proportion, than I wanted, I supplied him with some part of it, and took up some linen and clothes, and other necessaries from him in exchange.

And now I began to increase visibly; I had a large quantity of land cured, that is, freed from timber, and a very good crop of tobacco in view; and I got three servants more and one negro, so that I had five white

servants and two negroes, and with this my affairs went very well on.

The first year, indeed, I took my wages, or salary, that is to say, of 30*l.* a year, because I wanted it very much; but the second and third year I resolved not to take it, on any account whatsoever, but to leave it in my benefactor's hands, to clear off the debt I had contracted.

And now I must impose a short digression on the reader, to note, that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a most wretched education, yet now, when I began to feel myself, as I may say, in the world, and to be arrived to an independent state, and to foresee that I might be something considerable in time; I say, now I found differing sentiments of things taking place in my mind; and first, I had a solid principle of justice and honesty, and a secret horror at things past, when I looked back upon my former life; that original something, I knew not what, that used formerly to check me in the first meannesses of my youth, and used to dictate to me, when I was but a child, that I was to be a gentleman, continued to operate upon me now in a manner I cannot describe; and I continually remembered the words of the ancient glassmaker to the gentleman that he reproved for swearing, that to be a gentleman was to be an honest man; that without honesty, human nature was sunk and degenerated; the gentleman lost all the dignity of his birth, and placed himself even below an honest beggar. These principles growing upon my mind in the present circumstances I was in, gave me a secret satisfaction that I can give no description of. It was an inexpressible joy to me, that I was now like to be, not only a man, but an honest man; and it yielded me a greater pleasure that I was ransomed from being a vagabond, a thief, and a criminal, as I had been from a child, than that I was delivered from slavery, and the wretched state of a Virginia sold servant. I had notion enough in my mind of the hardships of the servant, or slave, because I had felt it, and worked through it; I remembered it as a

state of labour and servitude, hardship and suffering. But the other shocked my very nature, chilled my blood, and turned the very soul within me; the thought of it was like reflections upon hell and the damned spirits; it struck me with horror, it was odious and frightful to look back on, and it gave me a kind of a fit, a convulsion or nervous disorder, that was very uneasy to me.

But to look forward, to reflect how things were changed, how happy I was that I could live by my own endeavours, and was no more under the necessity of being a villain, and of getting my bread at my own hazard and the ruin of honest families; this had in it something more than commonly pleasing and agreeable, and, in particular, it had a pleasure that till then I had known nothing of. It was a sad thing to be under a necessity of doing evil, to procure that subsistence, which I could not support the want of, to be obliged to run the venture of the gallows rather than the venture of starving, and to be always wicked for fear of want.

I cannot say that I had any serious religious reflections, or that these things proceeded yet from the uneasiness of conscience, but from mere reasonings with myself, and from being arrived to a capacity of making a right judgement of things more than before; yet I own I had such an abhorrence of the wicked life I had led, that I was secretly easy, and had a kind of pleasure in the disaster that was upon me about the ship, and that, though it was a loss, I could not but be glad that those ill-gotten goods were gone, and that I had lost what I had stolen; for I looked on it as none of mine, and that it would be fire in my flax if I should mingle it with what I had now, which was come honestly by, and was, as it were, sent from heaven to lay the foundation of my prosperity, which the other would be only as a moth to consume.

At the same time my thoughts dictated to me, that though this was the foundation of my new life, yet that this was not the superstructure, and that I might still be born for greater things than these; that it was

honesty and virtue alone that made men rich and great, and gave them a fame as well as a figure in the world, and that therefore I was to lay my foundation in these, and expect what might follow in time.

To help these thoughts, as I had learned to read and write when I was in Scotland; so I began now to love books, and particularly I had an opportunity of reading some very considerable ones; such as Livy's Roman History, the History of the Turks, the English History of Speed, and others; the History of the Low Country Wars, the History of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and the History of the Spaniards' Conquest of Mexico, with several others, some of which I bought at a planter's house, who was lately dead, and his goods sold, and others I borrowed.

I considered my present state of life to be my mere youth, though I was now above thirty year old, because in my youth I had learned nothing; and if my daily business, which was now great, would have permitted, I would have been content to have gone to school. However, fate, that had yet something else in store for me, threw an opportunity into my hand; namely, a clever fellow, that came over a transported felon from Bristol, and fell into my hands for a servant. He had led a loose life, that he acknowledged, and being driven to extremities took to the highway, for which, had he been taken, he would have been hanged; but falling into some low-prized rogueries afterwards, for want of opportunity for worse, was catched, condemned, and transported, and, as he said, was glad he came off so.

He was an excellent scholar, and I perceiving it, asked him one time, if he could give a method how I might learn the Latin tongue? He said, smiling, Yes, he could teach it me in three months, if I would let him have books, or even without books, if he had time. I told him, a book would become his hands better than a hoe; and if he could promise to make me but understand Latin enough to read it, and understand other languages by it, I would ease him of the labour which I was now

obliged to put him to, especially if I was assured that he was fit to receive that favour of a kind master. In short, I made him to me what my benefactor made me to him, and from him I gained a fund of knowledge, infinitely more valuable than the rate of a slave, which was what I paid for it, but of this hereafter.

With these thoughts I went cheerfully about my work. As I had now five servants, my plantation went on, though gently, yet safely, and increased gradually, though slowly; but the third year, with the assistance of my old benefactor, I purchased two negroes more, so that now I had seven servants; and having cured land sufficient for supply of their food, I was at no difficulty to maintain them; so that my plantation began now to enlarge itself, and as I lived without any personal expense, but was maintained at my old great master's, as we called him, and at his charge, with 30*l.* a year besides, so all my gain was laid up for increase.

On returning to England as a prosperous merchant, Colonel Jack made an unhappy marriage, served abroad in the army, married again (three times more), returned to Virginia, made money by trade, and finally settled in London, contented and prosperous.

THE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

(1719)

Robinson Crusoe, the hero of this romance, was born at York in 1632, "of a good family." Having a great desire to see the world, he went to sea, much against his father's will, at the age of nineteen. His first voyage ended at Yarmouth, with the loss of the ship; but his second venture, a voyage to the Guinea Coast, being more fortunate, he commenced Guinea trader. While engaged in this trade, he was seized, and made prize of, by a rover from Sallee, who kept him as a slave for two years before he could contrive to escape. Afterwards he worked successfully in Brazil as a sugar planter, till some neighbouring planters persuaded him to go another voyage to Guinea to obtain slaves. In this voyage, meeting with continued bad weather, the ship went ashore in a storm, on an unknown island. The crew (Crusoe among them), taking to the only boat in the ship, met with such fortune as is described here.

The adventures of Robinson Crusoe upon the island, his release after his long sojourn there, and his subsequent voyages and experiments in colonization, are too well known to need detailed description. He carries his narrative down to the beginning of 1705, in which year he resolves to stay at home, to prepare quietly for his end.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly, that the sea went so high, that the boat could not live, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none; nor, if we had, could we have done anything with it; so we worked at the oar towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution; for we all knew that when the boat came nearer the shore, she would be dashed in a thousand pieces by the breach of

the sea. However, we committed our souls to God in the most earnest manner, and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling as well as we could towards land.

What the shore was—whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal—we knew not; the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation was, if we might happen into some bay or gulf, or the mouth of some river, where by great chance we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land, and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain like, came rolling astern of us, and plainly bid us expect the *coup de grâce*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once; and separating us, as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, "O God!" for we were all swallowed up in a moment.

Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt, when I sunk into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw breath, till that wave having driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back, and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind, as well as breath left that seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavoured to make on towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid it; for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy which I had no means or strength to contend with: my business was to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could; and

so, by swimming, to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible; my greatest concern now being, that the sea as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might not carry me back again with it when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave that came upon me again buried me at once twenty or thirty foot deep in its own body; and I could feel myself carried with a mighty force and swiftness towards the shore, a very great way; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly, gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments, to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then took to my heels, and run with what strength I had farther towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again; and twice more I was lifted up by the waves and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the sea, having hurried me along, as before, landed me, or rather dashed me, against a piece of a rock and that with such force, as it left me senseless, and indeed helpless, as to my own deliverance; for the blow, taking my side and breast, beat the breath, as it were, quite out of my body; and had it returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water: but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and seeing I should be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so

to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now as the waves were not so high as at first, being nearer land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away; and the next run I took, I got to the main land; where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed, and safe on shore; and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved, in a case wherein there was, some minutes before, scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express, to the life, what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are, when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the very grave: and I do not wonder now at that custom, viz., that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up, and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought to him; I say, I do not wonder that they bring a surgeon with it, to let him blood that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprise may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him:

For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.

I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I may say, wrapped up in the contemplation of my deliverance; making a thousand gestures and motions, which I cannot describe; reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, or any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel—when the breach and froth of the sea being so big I could hardly see it, it lay so far off—and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on shore!

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable

part of my condition, I began to look round me, to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done; and I soon found my comforts abate, and that, in a word, I had a dreadful deliverance: for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything either to eat or drink, to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts: and that which was particularly afflicting to me was, that I had no weapon either to hunt and kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box. This was all my provision; and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that, for a while, I run about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began, with a heavy heart, to consider what would be my lot if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.

All the remedy that offered to my thoughts, at that time, was, to get up into a thick bushy tree, like a fir, but thorny—which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night—and consider the next day what death I should die, for as yet I saw no prospect of life. I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drank, and put a little tobacco in my mouth to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavoured to place myself so as that, if I should sleep, I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging; and having been excessively fatigued, I fell fast asleep, and slept as comfortably as, I believe, few could have done in my condition; and found myself the most refreshed with it that I think I ever was on such an occasion.

When I waked it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before; but that which surprised me most was, that the ship was lifted off in the night from the sand

where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it. This being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that at least I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I looked about me again, and the first thing I found was the boat; which lay, as the wind and the sea had tossed her up, upon the land, about two miles on my right hand. I walked as far as I could upon the shore to have got to her; but found a neck or inlet of water, between me and the boat, which was about half a mile broad; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship, where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon, I found the sea very calm, and the tide ebbed so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship: and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief; for I saw evidently, that if we had kept on board, we had been all safe; that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was. This forced tears from my eyes again; but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship: so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water: but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board; for as she lay aground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I spied a small piece of rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hang down by the fore-chains so low, as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and by the help of that rope got up into the forecastle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand, or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up

upon the bank, and her head low, almost to the water. By this means all her quarter was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and to see what was spoiled and what was free: and, first, I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water; and, being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room, and filled my pockets with biscuit, and ate it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of, to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat, to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be very necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had, and this extremity roused my application: we had several spare yards, and two or three large spars of wood, and a spare top-mast or two in the ship; I resolved to fall to work with these, and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage for their weight, tying every one with a rope, that they might not drive away. When this was done, I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them, crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light: so I went to work, and with the carpenter's saw I cut a spare top-mast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labour and pains. But the hope of furnishing myself with necessaries, encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I laid upon it from the surf of the sea; but I was not long considering this. I first laid all the planks or boards upon it that I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first

got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied and lowered them down upon my raft; the first of these I filled with provisions, viz. bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goats' flesh (which we lived much upon), and a little remainder of European corn, which had been laid by for some fowls which we brought to sea with us, but the fowls were killed. There had been some barley and wheat together, but, to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoiled it all. As for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters; and, in all, about five or six gallons of rack. These I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chest, nor any room for them. While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm; and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore, upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen, and open-kneed, I swam on board in them, and my stockings. However, this put me upon rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use, for I had other things which my eye was more upon; as, first, tools to work with on shore: and it was after long searching that I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-loading of gold would have been at that time. I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols; these I secured first, with some powder-horns and a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them; but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water. Those two I got to my raft, with the arms. And now

I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder; and the least capful of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements: 1. A smooth, calm sea; 2. The tide rising, and setting in to the shore; 3. What little wind there was blew me towards the land. And thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an axe, and a hammer; and with this cargo I put to sea. For a mile, or thereabouts, my raft went very well, only that I found it drive a little distant from the place where I had landed before; by which I perceived that there was some indraught of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river there, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was: there appeared before me a little opening of the land, and I found a strong current of the tide set into it; so I guided my raft, as well as I could, to keep in the middle of the stream. But here I had like to have suffered a second shipwreck, which, if I had, I think verily would have broke my heart; for, knowing nothing of the coast, my raft ran aground at one end of it upon a shoal, and, not being aground at the other end, it wanted but a little that all my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat, and so fallen into the water. I did my utmost, by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength; neither durst I stir from the posture I was in, but holding up the chests with all my might, stood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level; and a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had into the channel, and then driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current or tide running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore,

for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river; hoping, in time, to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in; but here I had like to have dipped all my cargo in the sea again; for that shore lying pretty steep, that is to say, sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of my float, if it run on shore, would lie so high, and the other sink lower, as before, that it would endanger my cargo again. All that I could do was to wait till the tide was at the highest, keeping the raft with my oar like an anchor, to hold the side of it fast to the shore, near a flat piece of ground, which I expected the water would flow over; and so it did. As soon as I found water enough, for my raft drew about a foot of water, I thrust her upon that flat piece of ground, and there fastened or moored her, by sticking my two broken oars into the ground, one on one side, near one end, and one on the other side, near the other end: and thus I lay till the water ebbed away, and left my raft and all my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen. Where I was I yet knew not; whether on the continent, or on an island; whether inhabited, or not inhabited; whether in danger of wild beasts, or not. There was a hill, not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to overtop some other hills, which lay as in a ridge from it, northward. I took out one of the fowling-pieces, and one of the pistols, and an horn of powder; and thus armed, I travelled for discovery up to the top of that hill; where, after I had, with great labour and difficulty, got to the top, I saw my fate, to my great affliction, viz. that I was in an island, environed every way with the sea, no land to be seen, except some rocks, which lay a great way

off, and two small islands, less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found also that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds; neither, when I killed them, could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back, I shot at a great bird, which I saw sitting upon a tree, on the side of a great wood. I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there since the creation of the world: I had no sooner fired, but from all the parts of the wood there arose an innumerable number of fowls, of many sorts, making a confused screaming, and crying, every one according to his usual note; but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of a hawk, its colour and beak resembling it, but it had no talons or claws more than common. Its flesh was carrion, and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and fell to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of that day: what to do with myself at night I knew not, nor indeed where to rest: for I was afraid to lie down on the ground, not knowing but some wild beast might devour me; though, as I afterwards found, there was really no need for those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricadoed myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of a hut for that night's lodging. As for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures, like hares, run out of the wood where I shot the fowl.

I now began to consider that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to land; and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible. And as I knew that the first storm that blew must

necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart, till I got everything out of the ship that I could get. Then I called a council, that is to say, in my thoughts, whether I should take back the raft; but this appeared impracticable: so I resolved to go as before, when the tide was down; and I did so, only that I stripped before I went from my hut; having nothing on but a chequered shirt, a pair of linen drawers, and a pair of pumps on my feet.

I got on board the ship as before, and prepared a second raft; and having had experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard, but yet I brought away several things very useful to me; as, first, in the carpenter's stores, I found two or three bags full of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets; and, above all, that most useful thing called a grindstone. All these I secured, together with several things belonging to the gunner; particularly, two or three iron crows, and two barrels of musket bullets, seven muskets, and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more; a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet lead; but this last was so heavy, I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-topsail, a hammock, and some bedding; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them all safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore: but when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor; only there sat a creature like a wild cat, upon one of the chests, which, when I came towards it, ran away a little distance, and then stood still. She sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my gun at her, but, as she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away; upon which I tossed her a bit of

biscuit, though, by the way, I was not very free of it, for my store was not great; however, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled of it, and ate it, and looked (as pleased) for more; but I thanked her, and could spare no more: so she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore—though I was fain to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks—I went to work to make me a little tent, with the sail, and some poles, which I cut for that purpose; and into this tent I brought everything that I knew would spoil either with rain or sun: and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up on end without; and spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed for the first time, and slept very quietly all night: I was very weary and heavy, for the night before I had slept little, and had laboured very hard all day, as well to fetch all those things from the ship, as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever were laid up, I believe, for one man: but I was not satisfied still; for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get everything out of her that I could; so every day, at low water, I went on board, and brought away something or other: but particularly the third time I went, I brought away as much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes and rope-twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvas, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, and the barrel of wet gunpowder. In a word, I brought away all the sails first and last; only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could; for they were no more useful to be sails, but as mere canvas only.

But that which comforted me more still was, that at last of all, after I had made five or six such voyages as

these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship that was worth my meddling with; I say, after all this, I found a great hogshead of bread, and three large runlets of rum or spirits, and a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour; this was surprising to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water. I soon emptied the hogshead of that bread, and wrapped it up, parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails, which I cut out; and, in a word, I got all this safe on shore also.

The next day I made another voyage, and now having plundered the ship of what was portable and fit to hand out, I began with the cables, and cutting the great cable into pieces such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron work I could get; and having cut down the spritsail-yard, and the mizen-yard, and everything I could, to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods, and came away: but my good luck began now to leave me; for this raft was so unwieldy, and so overladen, that after I was entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water; as for myself, it was no great harm for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo, it was great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me; however, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labour; for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and had been eleven times on board the ship; in which time I had brought away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring; though I believe verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece: but preparing, the twelfth time, to go on board, I found the wind begin to rise:

however, at low water I went on board; and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with some ten or a dozen of good knives and forks; in another I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

I smiled to myself at the sight of this money; "O drug!" said I aloud, "what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me, no, not the taking off of the ground; one of those knives is worth all this heap: I have no manner of use for thee; e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving." However, upon second thoughts, I took it away; and wrapping all this in a piece of canvas, I began to think of making another raft; but, while I was preparing this, I found the sky overcast, and the wind began to rise, and in a quarter of an hour it blew a fresh gale from the shore. It presently occurred to me, that it was in vain to pretend to make a raft with the wind off shore; and that it was my business to be gone before the tide of flood began, otherwise I might not be able to reach the shore at all. Accordingly I let myself down into the water, and swam cross the channel which lay between the ship and the sands, and even that with difficulty enough, partly with the weight of the things I had about me, and partly the roughness of the water; for the wind rose very hastily, and before it was quite high water it blew a storm.

But I was gotten home to my little tent, where I lay, with all my wealth about me, very secure. It blew very hard all that night, and in the morning, when I looked out, behold no more ship was to be seen! I was a little surprised, but recovered myself with this satisfactory reflection, viz. that I had lost no time, nor abated no diligence, to get everything out of her, that could be useful to me, and that, indeed, there was little left in

her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time.

I now gave over any more thoughts of the ship, or of anything out of her, except what might drive on shore, from her wreck; as, indeed, divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

My thoughts were now wholly employed about securing myself against either savages, if any should appear, or wild beasts, if any were in the island; and I had many thoughts of the method how to do this, and what kind of dwelling to make, whether I should make me a cave in the earth, or a tent upon the earth; and, in short, I resolved upon both; the manner and description of which, it may not be improper to give an account of.

I soon found the place I was in was not for my settlement, particularly because it was upon a low, moorish ground, near the sea, and I believed would not be wholesome; and more particularly because there was no fresh water near it: so I resolved to find a more healthy and more convenient spot of ground.

I consulted several things in my situation, which I found would be proper for me; first, health and fresh water, I just now mentioned: secondly, shelter from the heat of the sun: thirdly, security from ravenous creatures, whether men or beasts: fourthly, a view to the sea, that if God sent any ship in sight, I might not lose any advantage for my deliverance, of which I was not willing to banish all my expectation yet.

In search of a place proper for this, I found a little plain on the side of a rising hill, whose front towards this little plain was steep as a house-side, so that nothing could come down upon me from the top. On the side of this rock, there was a hollow place, worn a little way in, like the entrance or door of a cave; but there was not really any cave, or way into the rock, at all.

On the flat of the green, just before this hollow place, I resolved to pitch my tent. This plain was not above an hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, and lay

like a green before my door; and, at the end of it, descended irregularly every way down into the low grounds by the seaside. It was on the N.N.W. side of the hill; so that I was sheltered from the heat every day, till it came to a W. and by S. sun, or thereabouts, which, in those countries, is near the setting.

Before I set up my tent, I drew a half-circle before the hollow place, which took in about ten yards in its semi-diameter from the rock, and twenty yards in its diameter, from its beginning and ending.

In this half-circle I pitched two rows of strong stakes, driving them into the ground till they stood very firm like piles, the biggest end being out of the ground, about five foot and a half, and sharpened on the top. The two rows did not stand above six inches from one another.

Then I took the pieces of cable which I had cut in the ship, and laid them in rows, one upon another, within the circle, between these two rows of stakes, up to the top, placing other stakes in the inside, leaning against them, about two foot and a half high, like a spur to a post; and this fence was so strong, that neither man nor beast could get into it or over it. This cost me a great deal of time and labour, especially to cut the piles in the woods, bring them to the place, and drive them into the earth.

The entrance into this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder to go over the top; which ladder, when I was in, I lifted over after me; and so I was completely fenced in and fortified, as I thought, from all the world, and consequently slept secure in the night, which otherwise I could not have done; though as it appeared afterwards, there was no need of all this caution from the enemies that I apprehended danger from.

Into this fence, or fortress, with infinite labour, I carried all my riches, all my provisions, ammunition, and stores, of which you have the account above; and I made me a large tent, which, to preserve me from the rains, that in one part of the year are very violent there,

I made double, viz. one smaller tent within, and one larger tent above it, and covered the uppermost with a large tarpaulin, which I had saved among the sails.

And now I lay no more for a while in the bed which I had brought on shore, but in a hammock, which was indeed a very good one, and belonged to the mate of the ship.

Into this tent I brought all my provisions, and everything that would spoil by the wet; and having thus enclosed all my goods, I made up the entrance, which till now I had left open, and so passed and repassed, as I said, by a short ladder.

When I had done this, I began to work my way into the rock, and bringing all the earth and stones that I dug down out through my tent, I laid them up within my fence in the nature of a terrace, so that it raised the ground within about a foot and a half; and thus I made me a cave, just behind my tent, which served me like a cellar to my house.

It cost me much labour and many days, before all these things were brought to perfection; and therefore I must go back to some other things which took up some of my thoughts. At the same time it happened, after I had laid my scheme for the setting up my tent, and making the cave, that a storm of rain falling from a thick, dark cloud, a sudden flash of lightning happened, and after that a great clap of thunder, as is naturally the effect of it. I was not so much surprised with the lightning, as I was with a thought, which darted into my mind as swift as the lightning itself: "O my powder!" My very heart sunk within me when I thought, that at one blast, all my powder might be destroyed; on which, not my defence only, but the providing me food, as I thought, entirely depended. I was nothing near so anxious about my own danger, though, had the powder took fire, I had never known who had hurt me.

Such impression did this make upon me, that after the storm was over, I laid aside all my works, my building and fortifying, and applied myself to make bags and

boxes, to separate the powder, and to keep it a little and a little in a parcel, in hope that whatever might come, it might not all take fire at once; and to keep it so apart, that it should not be possible to make one part fire another. I finished this work in about a fortnight; and I think my powder, which in all was about two hundred and forty pound weight, was divided in not less than a hundred parcels. As to the barrel that had been wet, I did not apprehend any danger from that; so I placed it in my new cave, which, in my fancy, I called my kitchen, and the rest I hid up and down in holes among the rocks, so that no wet might come to it, marking very carefully where I laid it.

In the interval of time while this was doing, I went out once at least every day with my gun, as well to divert myself, as to see if I could kill anything fit for food; and, as near as I could, to acquaint myself with what the island produced. The first time I went out, I presently discovered that there were goats in the island, which was a great satisfaction to me; but then it was attended with this misfortune to me, viz. that they were so shy, so subtle, and so swift of foot, that it was the difficultest thing in the world to come at them: but I was not discouraged at this, not doubting but I might now and then shoot one, as it soon happened; for after I had found their haunts a little, I laid wait in this manner for them; I observed, if they saw me in the valleys, though they were upon the rocks, they would run away as in a terrible fright; but if they were feeding in the valleys, and I was upon the rocks, they took no notice of me; from whence I concluded, that by the position of their optics, their sight was so directed downward, that they did not readily see objects that were above them: so afterwards, I took this method—I always climbed the rocks first, to get above them, and then had frequently a fair mark. The first shot I made among these creatures, I killed a she-goat, which had a little kid by her, which she gave suck to, which grieved me heartily; but when the old one fell, the kid stood stock-still by her, till I came and took her up; and not

only so, but when I carried the old one with me, upon my shoulders, the kid followed me quite to my enclosure; upon which I laid down the dam, and took the kid in my arms, and carried it over my pale, in hopes to have bred it up tame; but it would not eat; so I was forced to kill it, and eat it myself. These two supplied me with flesh a great while, for I ate sparingly, and saved my provisions (my bread especially) as much as possibly I could.

Having now fixed my habitation, I found it absolutely necessary to provide a place to make a fire in, and fuel to burn; and what I did for that, as also how I enlarged my cave, and what conveniences I made, I shall give a full account of in its place: but I must first give some little account of myself, and of my thoughts about living, which, it may well be supposed, were not a few.

I had a dismal prospect of my condition; for as I was not cast away upon that island without being driven, as is said, by a violent storm quite out of the course of our intended voyage; and a great way, viz. some hundreds of leagues, out of the ordinary course of the trade of mankind, I had great reason to consider it as a determination of Heaven, that in this desolate place, and in this desolate manner, I should end my life. The tears would run plentifully down my face when I made these reflections; and sometimes I would expostulate with myself why Providence should thus completely ruin its creatures, and render them so absolutely miserable; so without help, abandoned, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life.

But something always returned swift upon me to check these thoughts, and to reprove me; and particularly, one day walking with my gun in my hand, by the sea-side, I was very pensive upon the subject of my present condition, when reason, as it were, expostulated with me t'other way, thus: Well, you are in a desolate condition 'tis true; but, pray remember, where are the rest of you? Did not you come eleven of you into the boat? Where are the ten? Why were not

they saved, and you lost? Why were you singled out? Is it better to be here or there? And then I pointed to the sea. All evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and with what worse attends them.

Then it occurred to me again, how well I was furnished for my subsistence, and what would have been my case if it had not happened (which was an hundred thousand to one) that the ship floated from the place where she first struck, and was driven so near to the shore, that I had time to get all these things out of her; what would have been my case, if I had been to have lived in the condition in which I at first came on shore, without necessaries of life, or necessaries to supply and procure them? Particularly, said I aloud (though to myself), what should I have done without a gun, without ammunition, without any tools to make anything, or to work with, without clothes, bedding, a tent, or any manner of covering? and that now I had all these to a sufficient quantity, and was in a fair way to provide myself in such a manner as to live without my gun, when my ammunition was spent: so that I had a tolerable view of subsisting, without any want, as long as I lived; for I considered, from the beginning, how I would provide for the accidents that might happen, and for the time that was to come, even not only after my ammunition should be spent, but even after my health or strength should decay.

I confess, I had not entertained any notion of my ammunition being destroyed at one blast, I mean my powder being blown up by lightning; and this made the thoughts of it so surprising to me, when it lightened and thundered, as I observed just now.

And now being to enter into a melancholy relation of a scene of silent life, such, perhaps, as was never heard of in the world before, I shall take it from its beginning, and continue it in its order. It was, by my account, the 30th of September, when, in the manner as above said, I first set foot upon this horrid island; when the sun being to us in its autumnal equinox was almost just over my head: for I reckoned myself, by observation, to be

in the latitude of nine degrees twenty-two minutes north of the Line.

After I had been there about ten or twelve days, it came into my thoughts that I should lose my reckoning of time for want of books, and pen and ink, and should even forget the sabbath days from the working days: but, to prevent this, I cut it with my knife upon a large post, in capital letters; and making it into a great cross, I set it up on the shore where I first landed, viz., "I came on shore here on the 30th of September, 1659." Upon the sides of this square post I cut every day a notch with my knife, and every seventh notch was as long again as the rest, and every first day of the month as long again as that long one: and thus I kept my calendar, or weekly, monthly, and yearly reckoning of time.

In the next place we are to observe that among the many things which I brought out of the ship, in the several voyages which, as above mentioned, I made to it, I got several things of less value, but not all less useful to me, which I omitted setting down before; as, in particular, pens, ink, and paper; several parcels in the captain's, mate's, gunner's, and carpenter's keeping; three or four compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspectives, charts, and books of navigation; all which I huddled together, whether I might want them or no: also I found three very good Bibles, which came to me in my cargo from England, and which I had packed up among my things; some Portuguese books also, and, among them, two or three popish prayer-books, and several other books, all which I carefully secured. And I must not forget, that we had in the ship a dog, and two cats, of whose eminent history I may have occasion to say something, in its place: for I carried both the cats with me; and as for the dog, he jumped out of the ship of himself, and swam on shore to me the day after I went on shore with my first cargo, and was a trusty servant to me many years: I wanted nothing that he could fetch me, nor any company that he could make up to me, I only wanted to have him

talk to me, but that would not do. As I observed before, I found pen, ink, and paper, and I husbanded them to the utmost; and I shall show that while my ink lasted, I kept things very exact, but after that was gone, I could not; for I could not make any ink, by any means that I could devise.

And this put me in mind that I wanted many things, notwithstanding all that I had amassed together; and of these, this of ink was one; as also spade, pickaxe, and shovel, to dig or remove the earth; needles, pins, and thread; as for linen, I soon learned to want that without much difficulty.

This want of tools made every work I did go on heavily; and it was near a whole year before I had entirely finished my little pale, or surrounded habitation. The piles, or stakes, which were as heavy as I could well lift, were a long time in cutting and preparing in the woods, and more by far, in bringing home; so that I spent sometimes two days in cutting and bringing home one of those posts, and a third day in driving it into the ground; for which purpose, I got a heavy piece of wood at first, but at last bethought myself of one of the iron crows; which, however, though I found it, yet it made driving those posts or piles very laborious and tedious work.

But what need I have been concerned at the tediousness of anything I had to do, seeing I had time enough to do it in? nor had I any other employment, if that had been over, at least that I could foresee, except the ranging the island to seek for food; which I did, more or less, every day.

I now began to consider seriously my condition, and the circumstance I was reduced to; and I drew up the state of my affairs in writing, not so much to leave them to any that were to come after me (for I was like to have but few heirs), as to deliver my thoughts from daily poring upon them, and afflicting my mind: and as my reason began now to master my despondency, I began to comfort myself as well as I could, and to set the good against the evil, that I might have something

to distinguish my case from worse; and I stated it very impartially, like debtor and creditor, the comforts I enjoyed against the miseries I suffered, thus:

EVIL	GOOD
I am cast upon a horrible, desolate island, void of all hope of recovery.	But I am alive; and not drowned, as all my ship's company was.
I am singled out and separated, as it were, from all the world, to be miserable.	But I am singled out too from all the ship's crew, to be spared from death; and He that miraculously saved me from death, can deliver me from this condition.
I am divided from mankind, a solitaire; one banished from human society.	But I am not starved, and perishing on a barren place, affording no sustenance.
I have not clothes to cover me.	But I am in a hot climate, where, if I had clothes, I could hardly wear them.
I am without any defence, or means to resist any violence of man or beast.	But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild beasts to hurt me, as I saw on the coast of Africa; and what if I had been shipwrecked there?
I have no soul to speak to, or relieve me.	But God wonderfully sent the ship in near enough to the shore, that I have gotten out so many necessary things, as will either supply my wants, or enable me to supply myself, even as long as I live.

Upon the whole, here was an undoubted testimony, that there was scarce any condition in the world so miserable, but there was something negative, or some-

thing positive, to be thankful for in it: and let this stand as a direction, from the experience of the most miserable of all conditions in this world, that we may always find in it something to comfort ourselves from, and to set, in the description of good and evil, on the credit side of the account.

Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out to sea, to see if I could spy a ship; I say, giving over these things, I began to apply myself to accommodate my way of living, and to make things as easy to me as I could.

I have already described my habitation, which was a tent under the side of a rock, surrounded with a strong pale of posts and cables; but I might now rather call it a wall, for I raised a kind of wall up against it of turfs, about two foot thick on the outside: and after some time (I think it was a year and a half) I raised rafters from it, leaning to the rock, and thatched or covered it with boughs of trees, and such things as I could get, to keep out the rain; which I found, at some times of the year, very violent.

I have already observed how I brought all my goods into this pale, and into the cave which I had made behind me. But I must observe, too, that at first this was a confused heap of goods, which, as they lay in no order, so they took up all my place; I had no room to turn myself: so I set myself to enlarge my cave, and work farther into the earth; for it was a loose sandy rock, which yielded easily to the labour I bestowed on it: and so when I found I was pretty safe as to beasts of prey, I worked sideways, to the right hand, into the rock, and then turning to the right again, worked quite out, and made me a door to come out on the outside of my pale or fortification.

This gave me not only egress and regress, as it were a back way to my tent and to my storehouse, but gave me room to stow my goods.

And now I began to apply myself to make such necessary things as I found I most wanted, as particularly a chair and a table; for without these I was not

able to enjoy the few comforts I had in the world; I could not write, or eat, or do several things with so much pleasure, without a table.

So I went to work. And here I must needs observe, that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by stating and squaring everything by reason, and by making the most rational judgment of things, every man may be, in time, master of every mechanic art. I had never handled a tool in my life; and yet, in time, by labour, application, and contrivance I found at last, that I wanted nothing but I could have made it, especially if I had had tools. However, I made abundance of things, even without tools; and some with no more tools than an adze and a hatchet, which perhaps were never made that way before, and that with infinite labour. For example, if I wanted a board, I had no other way but to cut down a tree, set it on an edge before me, and hew it flat on either side with my axe, till I had brought it to be as thin as a plank, and then dub it smooth with my adze. It is true, by this method, I could make but one board out of a whole tree; but this I had no remedy for but patience, any more than I had for the prodigious deal of time and labour which it took me up to make a plank or board: but my time or labour was little worth, and so it was as well employed one way as another.

However, I made me a table and a chair, as I observed above, in the first place; and this I did out of the short pieces of boards that I brought on my raft from the ship. But when I had wrought out some boards, as above, I made large shelves, of the breadth of a foot and a half, one over another, all along one side of my cave, to lay all my tools, nails, and iron work; and, in a word, to separate every thing at large in their places, that I might come easily at them. I knocked pieces into the wall of the rock, to hang my guns, and all things that would hang up.

So that had my cave been to be seen, it looked like a general magazine of all necessary things; and I had every thing so ready at my hand, that it was a great

pleasure to me to see all my goods in such order, and especially to find my stock of all necessaries so great.

And now it was when I began to keep a journal of every day's employment; for, indeed, at first, I was in too much hurry, and not only hurry as to labour, but in too much discomposure of mind; and my journal would have been full of many dull things; for example, I must have said thus—"*Sept. the 30th.* After I got to shore, and had escaped drowning, instead of being thankful to God for my deliverance, having first vomited, with the great quantity of salt water which was gotten into my stomach, and recovering myself a little, I ran about the shore, wringing my hands, and beating my head and face, exclaiming at my misery, and crying out I was undone, undone! till, tired and faint, I was forced to lie down on the ground to repose; but durst not sleep, for fear of being devoured."

Some days after this, and after I had been on board the ship and got all that I could out of her, yet I could not forbear getting up to the top of a little mountain, and looking out to sea, in hopes of seeing a ship: then fancy, at a vast distance, I spied a sail, please myself with the hopes of it, and then, after looking steadily, till I was almost blind, lose it quite, and sit down and weep like a child, and thus increase my misery by my folly.

But, having gotten over these things in some measure, and having settled my household stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handsome about me as I could, I began to keep my journal: of which I shall here give you the copy (though in it will be told all these particulars over again) as long as it lasted; for, having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMOUS MOLL FLANDERS

I

In this moving and terrible story, Defoe again indicates the results of neglecting to direct youth into the paths of industry. It is interesting to note that in his opening chapter he makes a plea for the State education of the children of criminals.

My true name is so well known in the records or registers at Newgate, and in the Old Bailey, and there are some things of such consequence still depending there, relating to my particular conduct, that it is not to be expected I should set my name, or the account of my family to this work; perhaps after my death it may be better known; at present it would not be proper, no, not though a general pardon should be issued, even without exceptions of persons or crimes.

It is enough to tell you, that as some of my worst comrades, who are out of the way of doing me harm (having gone out of the world by the steps and the string, as I often expected to go), knew me by the name of Moll Flanders, so you may give me leave to go under that name till I dare own who I have been, as well as who I am.

I have been told, that in one of our neighbour nations, whether it be in France, or where else, I know not, they have an order from the king, that when any criminal is condemned, either to die, or to the galleys, or to be transported, if they leave any children, as such are generally unprovided for, by the forfeiture of their parents, so they are immediately taken into the care of

the government, and put into an hospital called the House of Orphans, where they are bred up, clothed, fed, taught, and when fit to go out, are placed to trades, or to services, so as to be well able to provide for themselves by an honest industrious behaviour.

Had this been the custom in our country, I had not been left a poor desolate girl without friends, without clothes, without help or helper, as was my fate ; and by which, I was not only exposed to very great distresses, even before I was capable either of understanding my case, or how to amend it, but brought into a course of life, scandalous in itself, and which in its ordinary course, tended to the swift destruction both of soul and body.

But the case was otherwise here : my mother was convicted of felony for a petty theft, scarce worth naming, viz., borrowing three pieces of fine holland, of a certain draper in Cheapside ; the circumstances are too long to repeat, and I have heard them related so many ways that I can scarce tell which is the right account.

However it was, they all agree in this, that my mother pleaded her belly ; and, being found quick with child, she was respited for about seven months ; after which she was called down, as they term it, to her former judgment, but obtained the favour afterward of being transported to the plantations, and left me about half a year old ; and in bad hands you may be sure.

This is too near the first hours of my life, for me to relate anything of myself, but by hearsay ; 'tis enough to mention, that as I was born in such an unhappy place, I had no parish to have recourse to for my nourishment in my infancy, nor can I give the least account how I was kept alive ; other, than that, as I have been told, some relation of my mother took me away, but at whose expense, or by whose direction, I know nothing at all of it.

The first account that I can recollect, or could ever learn of myself, was that I had wandered among a crew of those people they call gipsies, or Egyptians ; but I

believe it was but a little while that I had been among them, for I had not had my skin discoloured, as they do to all children they carry about with them, nor can I tell how I came among them, or how I got from them.

It was at Colchester in Essex, that those people left me; and I have a notion in my head, that I left them there (that is, that I hid myself and would not go any farther with them), but I am not able to be particular in that account; only this I remember, that being taken up by some of the parish officers of Colchester, I gave an account, that I came into the town with the gipsies, but that I would not go any farther with them, and that so they had left me, but whither they were gone that I knew not; for though they sent round the country to inquire after them, it seems, they could not be found.

I was now in a way to be provided for; for though I was not a parish charge upon this or that part of the town by law, yet as my case came to be known, and that I was too young to do any work, being not above three years old, compassion moved the magistrates of the town to take care of me, and I became one of their own as much as if I had been born in the place.

In the provision they made for me, it was my good hap to be put to nurse, as they call it, to a woman who was indeed poor, but had been in better circumstances, and who got a little livelihood by taking such as I was supposed to be; and keeping them with all necessaries, till they were at a certain age, in which it might be supposed they might go to service, or get their own bread.

This woman had also a little school, which she kept to teach children to read and to work; and having, I say, lived before that in good fashion, she bred up the children with a great deal of art, as well as with a great deal of care.

But which was worth all the rest, she bred them up very religiously also, being herself a very sober, pious woman; secondly, very housewifely and clean, and,

thirdly, very mannerly, and with good behaviour. So that excepting a plain diet, coarse lodging, and mean clothes, we were brought up as mannerly as if we had been at the dancing school.

I was continued here till I was eight years old, when I was terrified with news that the magistrates (as I think they called them) had ordered that I should go to service; I was able to do but very little, wherever I was to go, except it was to run of errands, and be a drudge to some cookmaid, and this they told me of often, which put me into a great fright; for I had a thorough aversion to going to service, as they called it, though I was so young; and I told my nurse, that I believed I could get my living without going to service, if she pleased to let me; for she had taught me to work with my needle, and spin worsted, which is the chief trade of that city, and I told her that if she would keep me, I would work for her, and I would work very hard.

I talked to her almost every day of working hard; and in short I did nothing but work and cry all day, which grieved the good kind woman so much, that at last she began to be concerned for me, for she loved me very well.

One day after this, as she came into the room, where all the poor children were at work, she sat down just over against me, not in her usual place as mistress, but as if she had set herself on purpose to observe me, and see me work; I was doing something she had set me to, as I remember it was marking some shirts, which she had taken to make, and after a while she began to talk to me: "Thou foolish child," says she, "thou art always crying (for I was crying then); prithee, what do'st cry for?" "Because they will take me away," says I, "and put me to service, and I can't work house-work." "Well, child," says she, "but though you can't work house-work you will learn it in time, and they won't put you to hard things, at first." "Yes they will," says I, "and if I can't do it they will beat me, and the maids will beat me to make me do great

work, and I am but a little girl, and I can't do it ;" and then I cried again, till I could not speak any more.

This moved my good motherly nurse, so that she resolved I should not go to service yet ; so she bid me not cry, and she would speak to Mr. Mayor, and I should not go to service till I was bigger.

Well, this did not satisfy me, for to think of going to service at all was such a frightful thing to me, that if she had assured me I should not have gone till I was twenty years old, it would have been the same to me, I should have cried all the time, with the very apprehension of its being to be so at last.

When she saw that I was not pacified yet, she began to be angry with me : "And what would you have," says she, "don't I tell you that you shall not go to service till you are bigger ?" "Aye," says I, "but then I must go at last." "Why, what," said she, "is the girl mad? What would you be, a gentlewoman?" "Yes," says I, and cried heartily till I roared out again.

This set the old gentlewoman a laughing at me, as you may be sure it would. "Well, madam, forsooth," says she, gibing at me ; "you would be a gentlewoman, and how will you come to be a gentlewoman ? What, will you do it by your fingers' ends ? "

"Yes," says I again, very innocently.

"Why, what can you earn," says she : "what can you get a day at your work ? "

"Three-pence," said I, "when I spin, and four-pence when I work plain work."

"Alas ! poor gentlewoman," said she again, laughing, "what will that do for thee ? "

"It will keep me," says I, "if you will let me live with you ; " and this I said in such a poor petitioning tone, that it made the poor woman's heart yearn to me, as she told me afterwards.

"But," says she, "that will not keep you and buy you clothes too ; and who must buy the little gentlewoman clothes ? " says she, and smiled all the while at me.

"I will work harder then," says I, "and you shall have it all."

"Poor child! it won't keep you," said she: "it will hardly find you in victuals."

"Then I would have no victuals," says I again, very innocently, "let me but live with you."

"Why, can you live without victuals?" says she. "Yes," again says I, very much like a child, you may be sure, and still I cried heartily.

I had no policy in all this, you may easily see it was all nature, but it was joined with so much innocence, and so much passion, that in short it set the good motherly creature a weeping too, and at last she cried as fast as I did, and then took me and led me out of the teaching-room: "Come," says she, "you shan't go to service, you shall live with me;" and this pacified me for the present.

After this, she going to wait on the mayor, my story came up, and my good nurse told Mr. Mayor the whole tale: he was so pleased with it, that he would call his lady and his two daughters to hear it, and it made mirth enough among them you may be sure.

However, not a week had passed over, but on a sudden comes Mrs. Mayoress and her two daughters to the house to see my old nurse, and to see her school and the children. When they had looked about them a little, "Well Mrs. ——" says the mayoress to my nurse, "and pray which is the little lass that is to be a gentlewoman?" I heard her, and I was terrible frighted, though I did not know why neither; but Mrs. Mayoress comes up to me, "Well miss," says she, "and what are you at work upon?" The word miss was a language that had hardly been heard of in our school, and I wondered what sad name it was she called me; however, I stood up, made a courtesy, and she took my work out of my hand, looked on it, and said it was very well; then she looked upon one of my hands: "Nay, she may come to be a gentlewoman," says she, "for aught I know; she has a lady's hand, I assure you." This pleased me mightily; but Mrs. Mayoress did not stop there, but put her hand in her pocket, gave me a shilling, and bid me mind my work, and learn to work well, and I might be a gentlewoman for aught she knew.

All this while my good old nurse, Mrs. Mayoress, and all the rest of them, did not understand me at all, for they meant one sort of thing by the word gentlewoman, and I meant quite another: for alas, all I understood by being a gentlewoman, was to be able to work for myself, and get enough to keep me without going to service, whereas they meant to live great and high, and I know not what.

Well, after Mrs. Mayoress was gone, her two daughters came in, and they called for the gentlewoman too, and they talked a long while to me, and I answered them in my innocent way; but always if they asked me whether I resolved to be a gentlewoman, I answered, yes: at last they asked me, what a gentlewoman was. That puzzled me much: however, I explained myself negatively, that it was one that did not go to service, to do house-work; they were mightily pleased, and liked my little prattle to them, which it seems was agreeable enough to them, and they gave me money too.

As for my money, I gave it all to my mistress-nurse, as I called her, and told her she should have all I got when I was a gentlewoman, as well as now; by this and some other of my talk, my old tutoress began to understand what I meant by being a gentlewoman; and that it was no more than to be able to get my bread by my own work; and at last she asked me whether it was not so.

I told her, yes, and insisted on it, that to do so, was to be a gentlewoman; "For," says I, "there is such a one," naming a woman that mended lace, and washed the ladies' laced heads; "She," says I, "is a gentlewoman, and they call her madam."

"Poor child," says my good old nurse, "you may soon be such a gentlewoman as that, for she is a person of ill fame, and has had two bastards."

I did not understand anything of that; but I answered, "I am sure they call her madam, and she does not go to service nor do house-work;" and therefore I insisted that she was a gentlewoman, and I would be such a gentlewoman as that.

The ladies were told all this again, and they made themselves merry with it, and every now and then Mr. Mayor's daughters would come and see me, and ask where the little gentlewoman was, which made me not a little proud of myself besides. I was often visited by these young ladies, and sometimes they brought others with them: so that I was known by it, almost all over the town.

I was now about ten years old, and began to look a little womanish, for I was mighty grave, very mannerly, and as I had often heard the ladies say I was pretty, and would be very handsome, you may be sure it made me not a little proud: however, that pride had no ill effect upon me yet, only as they often gave me money, and I gave it my old nurse, she, honest woman, was so just as to lay it out again for me, and gave me head-dresses, and linen, and gloves, and I went very neat, for if I had rags on, I would always be clean, or else I would dabble them in water myself; but I say, my good nurse, when I had money given me, very honestly laid it out for me, and would always tell the ladies this or that was bought with their money; and this made them give me more, till at last, I was indeed called upon by the magistrates to go out to service; but then I was become so good a workwoman myself, and the ladies were so kind to me, that I was past it; for I could earn as much for my nurse as was enough to keep me; so she told them, that if they would give her leave, she would keep the gentlewoman, as she called me, to be her assistant, and teach the children, which I was very well able to do; for I was very nimble at my work, though I was yet very young.

But the kindness of the ladies did not end here, for when they understood that I was no more maintained by the town as before, they gave me money oftener; and as I grew up, they brought me work to do for them; such as linen to make, laces to mend, and heads to dress up, and not only paid me for doing them, but even taught me how to do them; so that I was a gentlewoman indeed, as I understood that word; for before

I was twelve years old, I not only found myself clothes, and paid my nurse for my keeping, but got money in my pocket too.

The ladies also gave me clothes frequently of their own or their children's ; some stockings, some petticoats, some gowns, some one thing, some another, and these my old woman managed for me like a mother, and kept them for me, obliged me to mend them, and turn them to the best advantage ; for she was a rare housewife.

At last one of the ladies took such a fancy to me, that she would have me home to her house, for a month, she said, to be among her daughters.

Now though this was exceeding kind in her, yet as my good woman said to her, unless she resolved to keep me for good and all, she would do the little gentlewoman more harm than good. "Well," says the lady, "that's true, I'll only take her home for a week then, that I may see how my daughters and she agree, and how I like her temper, and then I'll tell you more ; and in the mean time, if anybody comes to see her as they used to do, you may only tell them you have sent her out to my house."

This was prudently managed enough, and I went to the lady's house, but I was so pleased there with the young ladies, and they so pleased with me, that I had enough to do to come away, and they were as unwilling to part with me.

However, I did come away, and lived almost a year more with my honest old woman, and began now to be very helpful to her ; for I was almost fourteen years old, was tall of my age, and looked a little womanish ; but I had such a taste of genteel living at the lady's house, that I was not so easy in my old quarters as I used to be, and I thought it was fine to be a gentlewoman indeed, for I had quite other notions of a gentlewoman now, than I had before ; and as I thought that it was fine to be a gentlewoman, so I loved to be among gentlewomen, and therefore I longed to be there again.

When I was about fourteen years and a quarter old, my good old nurse, mother I ought to call her, fell sick and died ; I was then in a sad condition indeed, for as

there is no great bustle in putting an end to a poor body's family, when once they are carried to the grave; so the poor good woman being buried, the parish children were immediately removed by the church-wardens; the school was at end, and the day children of it had no more to do but just stay at home till they were sent somewhere else; as for what she left, a daughter, a married woman, came and swept it all away, and removing the goods, they had no more to say to me than to jest with me, and tell me that the little gentlewoman might set up for herself if she pleased.

I was frighted out of my wits almost, and knew not what to do; for I was, as it were, turned out of doors to the wide world, and that which was still worse, the old honest woman had two-and-twenty shillings of mine in her hand, which was all the estate the little gentlewoman had in the world; and when I asked the daughter for it, she huffed me, and told me she had nothing to do with it.

It was true the good poor woman had told her daughter of it, and that it lay in such a place, that it was the child's money, and had called once or twice for me to give it me, but I was unhappily out of the way, and when I came back she was past being in a condition to speak of it: however, the daughter was so honest afterwards, as to give it me, though at first she used me cruelly about it.

Now was I a poor gentlewoman indeed, and I was just that very night to be turned into the wide world; for the daughter removed all the goods, and I had not so much as a lodging to go to, or a bit of bread to eat: but it seems some of the neighbours took so much compassion of me, as to acquaint the lady in whose family I had been; and immediately she sent her maid to fetch me; and away I went with them, bag and baggage, and with a glad heart you may be sure: the fright of my condition had made such an impression upon me, that I did not want now to be a gentlewoman, but was very willing to be a servant, and that any kind of servant they thought fit to have me be.

But my new generous mistress had better thoughts for me. I call her generous, for she exceeded the good woman I was with before in everything, as in estate; I say, in everything except honesty; and for that, though this was a lady most exactly just, yet I must not forget to say on all occasions, that the first, though poor, was as uprightly honest as it was possible.

I was no sooner carried away as I have said by this good gentlewoman, but the first lady, that is to say, the mayoress that was, sent her daughters to take care of me; and another family which had taken notice of me when I was the little gentlewoman, sent for me after her, so that I was mightily made of; nay, and they were not a little angry, especially the mayoress, that her friend had taken me away from her; for, as she said, I was hers by right, she having been the first that took any notice of me: but they that had me, would not part with me; and as for me I could not be better than where I was.

Here I continued till I was between seventeen and eighteen years old, and here I had all the advantages for my education, that could be imagined; the lady had masters home to teach her daughters to dance, and to speak French, and to write, and others to teach them music: and as I was always with them, I learned as fast as they; and though the masters were not appointed to teach me, yet I learned by imitation and inquiry, all that they learned by instruction and direction. So that in short, I learned to dance and speak French as well as any of them, and to sing much better, for I had a better voice than any of them; I could not so readily come at playing the harpsichord or spinet, because I had no instrument of my own to practise on, and could only come at theirs in the intervals when they left it; but yet I learned tolerably well, and the young ladies at length got two instruments, that is to say, a harpsichord and a spinet too, and then they taught me themselves; but as to dancing they could hardly help my learning country dances, because they always wanted me to make up even number; and on the other

hand, they were as heartily willing to learn me everything that they had been taught themselves, as I could be to take the learning.

By this means I had, as I have said, all the advantages of education that I could have had, if I had been as much a gentlewoman as they were with whom I lived; and in some things I had the advantage of my ladies, though they were my superiors, viz., that mine were all the gifts of nature, and which all their fortunes could not furnish. First, I was apparently handsomer than any of them; secondly, I was better shaped; and thirdly, I sung better, by which I mean, I had a better voice; in all which you will, I hope, allow me to say, I do not speak my own conceit, but the opinion of all that knew the family.

I had with all these the common vanity of my sex, viz., that being really taken for very handsome, or, if you please, for a great beauty, I very well knew it, and had as good an opinion of myself, as anybody else could have of me, and particularly I loved to hear anybody speak of it, which happened often, and was a great satisfaction to me.

II

After various adventures, she marries, and lives happily for five years, when her husband dies. Her husband's death leaves her destitute, so that she drifts into a life of crime, in which she is aided by an elderly woman who receives the goods she steals.

We lived in an uninterrupted course of ease and content for five years, when a sudden blow from an almost invisible hand blasted all my happiness, and turned me out into the world in a condition the reverse of all that had been before it.

My husband having trusted one of his fellow-clerks with a sum of money, too much for our fortunes to bear the loss of, the clerk failed, and the loss fell very heavy on my husband; yet it was not so great, but that if he had had courage to have looked his misfortunes in the

face, his credit was so good, that as I told him, he would easily recover it ; for to sink under trouble is to double the weight, and he that will die in it, shall die in it.

It was in vain to speak comfortably to him, the wound had sunk too deep, it was a stab that touched the vitals, he grew melancholy and disconsolate, and from thence lethargic, and died. I foresaw the blow, and was extremely oppressed in my mind, for I saw evidently that if he died I was undone.

I had had two children by him, and no more, for it began to be time for me to leave bearing children, for I was now eight-and-forty, and I suppose if he had lived I should have had no more.

I was now left in a dismal and disconsolate case indeed, and in several things worse than ever. First, it was past the flourishing time with me, when I might expect to be courted for a mistress ; that agreeable part had declined some time, and the ruins only appeared of what had been ; and that which was worse than all was this, that I was the most dejected, disconsolate creature alive ; I that had encouraged my husband, and endeavoured to support his spirits under his trouble, could not support my own ; I wanted that spirit in trouble which I told him was so necessary for bearing the burden.

But my case was indeed deplorable, for I was left perfectly friendless and helpless, and the loss my husband had sustained had reduced his circumstances so low, that though indeed I was not in debt, yet I could easily foresee that what was left would not support me long ; that it wasted daily for subsistence, so that it would be soon all spent, and then I saw nothing before me but the utmost distress, and this represented itself so lively to my thoughts, that it seemed as if it was come, before it was really very near ; also my very apprehensions doubled the misery, for I fancied every sixpence that I paid for a loaf of bread, was the last I had in the world, and that to-morrow I was to fast, and be starved to death.

In this distress I had no assistant, no friend to comfort

or advise me ; I sat and cried and tormented myself night and day ; wringing my hands, and sometimes raving like a distracted woman ; and indeed I have often wondered it had not affected my reason, for I had the vapours to such a degree, that my understanding was sometimes quite lost in fancies and imaginations.

I lived two years in this dismal condition, wasting that little I had, weeping continually over my dismal circumstances, and as it were only bleeding to death, without the least hope or prospect of help ; and now I had cried so long, and so often, that tears were exhausted, and I began to be desperate, for I grew poor apace.

For a little relief, I had put off my house and took lodgings ; and as I was reducing my living, so I sold off most of my goods, which put a little money in my pocket, and I lived near a year upon that, spending very sparingly, and eking things out to the utmost ; but still when I looked before me, my heart would sink within me at the inevitable approach of misery and want. O let none read this part without seriously reflecting on the circumstances of a desolate state, and how they would grapple with want of friends and want of bread ; it will certainly make them think not of sparing what they have only, but of looking up to heaven for support, and of the wise man's prayer, "Give me not poverty, lest I steal."

Let them remember that a time of distress is a time of dreadful temptation, and all the strength to resist is taken away ; poverty presses, the soul is made desperate by distress, and what can be done ? It was one evening, when being brought, as I may say, to the last gasp, I think I may truly say I was distracted and raving, when prompted by I know not what spirit, and as it were, doing I did not know what, or why, I dressed me (for I had still pretty good clothes), and went out. I am very sure I had no manner of design in my head, when I went out ; I neither knew, or considered where to go, or on what business ; but as the devil carried me out, and laid his bait for me, so he brought me to be sure to the place, for I knew not whither I was going, or what I did.

Wandering thus about, I knew not whither, I passed by an apothecary's shop in Leadenhall-Street, where I saw lie on a stool just before the counter a little bundle wrapt in a white cloth; beyond it stood a maid-servant with her back to it, looking up towards the top of the shop, where the apothecary's apprentice, as I suppose, was standing upon the counter, with his back also to the door, and a candle in his hand, looking and reaching up to the upper shelf for something he wanted, so that both were engaged, and nobody else in the shop.

This was the bait; and the devil who laid the snare prompted me, as if he had spoke, for I remember, and shall never forget it, 'twas like a voice spoken over my shoulder, "Take the bundle; be quick; do it this moment." It was no sooner said but I stepped into the shop, and with my back to the wench, as if I had stood up for a cart that was going by, I put my hand behind me and took the bundle, and went off with it, the maid or fellow not perceiving me, or any one else.

It is impossible to express the horror of my soul all the while I did it. When I went away I had no heart to run, or scarce to mend my pace: I crossed the street indeed, and went down the first turning I came to, and I think it was a street that went through into Fenchurch-Street; from thence I crossed and turned through so many ways and turnings, that I could never tell which way it was, nor where I went; I felt not the ground I stept on, and the farther I was out of danger, the faster I went, till tired and out of breath, I was forced to sit down on a little bench at a door, and then found I was got into Thames-Street, near Billingsgate: I rested me a little and went on; my blood was all in a fire, my heart beat as if I was in a sudden fright: in short, I was under such a surprise that I knew not whither I was a-going, or what to do.

After I had tired myself thus with walking a long way about, and so eagerly, I began to consider, and make home to my lodging, where I came about nine o'clock at night.

What the bundle was made up for, or on what occasion

laid where I found it, I knew not, but when I came to open it, I found there was a suit of childbed-linen in it, very good, and almost new, the lace very fine; there was a silver porringer of a pint, a small silver mug, and six spoons, with some other linen, a good smock, and three silk handkerchiefs, and in the mug in a paper, 18*s.* 6*d.* in money.

All the while I was opening these things I was under such dreadful impressions of fear, and in such terror of mind, though I was perfectly safe, that I cannot express the manner of it; I sat me down, and cried most vehemently; "Lord," said I, "what am I now? a thief! why, I shall be taken next time, and be carried to Newgate, and be tried for my life!" and with that I cried again a long time, and I am sure, as poor as I was, if I had durst for fear, I would certainly have carried the things back again; but that went off after a while. Well, I went to bed for that night, but slept little, the horror of the fact was upon my mind, and I knew not what I said or did all night, and all the next day. Then I was impatient to hear some news of the loss; and would fain know how it was, whether they were a poor body's goods, or a rich; "Perhaps," said I, "it may be some poor widow like me, that had packed up these goods to go and sell them for a little bread for herself and a poor child, and are now starving and breaking their hearts, for want of that little they would have fetched;" and this thought tormented me worse than all the rest, for three or four days.

But my own distresses silenced all these reflections, and the prospect of my own starving, which grew every day more frightful to me, hardened my heart by degrees. It was then particularly heavy upon my mind, that I had been reformed, and had, as I hoped, repented of all my past wickednesses; that I had lived a sober, grave, retired life for several years, but now I should be driven by the dreadful necessity of my circumstances to the gates of destruction, soul and body; and two or three times I fell upon my knees, praying to God, as well as I could, for deliverance; but I cannot but say, my prayers

had no hope in them : I knew not what to do, it was all fear without, and dark within ; and I reflected on my past life as not repented of, that heaven was now beginning to punish me, and would make me as miserable as I had been wicked.

Had I gone on here I had perhaps been a true penitent ; but I had an evil counsellor within, and he was continually prompting me to relieve myself by the worst means ; so one evening he tempted me again by the same wicked impulse that had said, "Take that bundle," to go out again and seek for what might happen.

I went out now by daylight, and wandered about I knew not whither, and in search of I knew not what, when the devil put a snare in my way of a dreadful nature indeed, and such a one as I have never had before or since. Going through Aldersgate-Street, there was a pretty little child had been at a dancing-school, and was a-going home all alone ; and my prompter, like a true devil, set me upon this innocent creature. I talked to it, and it prattled to me again, and I took it by the hand and led it along till I came to a paved alley that goes into Bartholomew-Close, and I led it in there ; the child said, that was not its way home ; I said, "Yes, my dear, it is ; I'll show you the way home ;" the child had a little necklace on of gold beads, and I had my eye upon that, and in the dark of the alley I stooped, pretending to mend the child's clog that was loose, and took off her necklace and the child never felt it, and so led the child on again. Here, I say, the devil put me upon killing the child in the dark alley, that it might not cry, but the very thought frighted me so that I was ready to drop down ; but I turned the child about and bade it go back again, for that was not its way home ; the child said, so she would, and I went through into Bartholomew-Close, and then turned round to another passage that goes into Long-Lane, so away into Charterhouse-Yard, and out into St. John's-Street ; then crossing into Smithfield, went down Chick-Lane, and into Field-Lane, to Holborn-Bridge, when mixing with the crowd of people usually passing there, it was not

possible to have been found out; and thus I made my second sally into the world.

The thoughts of this booty put out all the thoughts of the first, and the reflections I had made wore quickly off; poverty hardened my heart, and my own necessities made me regardless of anything. The last affair left no great concern upon me, for as I did the poor child no harm, I only thought I had given the parents a just reproof for their negligence, in leaving the poor lamb to come home by itself, and it would teach them to take more care another time.

This string of beads was worth about 12*l.* or 14*l.* I suppose it might have been formerly the mother's, for it was too big for the child's wear, but that, perhaps, the vanity of the mother to have her child look fine at the dancing-school, had made her let the child wear it, and no doubt the child had a maid sent to take care of it, but she, like a careless jade, was taken up perhaps with some fellow that had met her, and so the poor baby wandered till it fell into my hands.

However, I did the child no harm; I did not so much as fright it, for I had a great many tender thoughts about me yet, and did nothing but what, as I may say, mere necessity drove me to.

I had a great many adventures after this, but I was young in the business, and did not know how to manage, otherwise than as the devil put things into my head; and indeed he was seldom backward to me. One adventure I had which was very lucky to me; I was going through Lombard-Street, in the dusk of the evening, just by the end of Three King-Court, when on a sudden comes a fellow running by me as swift as lightning, and throws a bundle that was in his hand just behind me, as I stood up against the corner of the house at the turning into the alley; just as he threw it in, he said, "God bless you, mistress, let it lie there a little," and away he runs: after him comes two more, and immediately a young fellow without his hat, crying, "Stop thief;" they pursued the two last fellows so close, that they were forced to drop what they had got,

and one of them was taken into the bargain; the other got off free.

I stood stock-still all this while, till they came back dragging the poor fellow they had taken, and lugging the things they had found, extremely well satisfied that they had recovered the booty, and taken the thief; and thus they passed by me, for I looked only like one who stood up while the crowd was gone.

Once or twice I asked what was the matter, but the people neglected answering me, and I was not very importunate; but after the crowd was wholly passed, I took my opportunity to turn about and take up what was behind me and walk away: this indeed I did with less disturbance than I had done formerly, for these things I did not steal, but they were stolen to my hand. I got safe to my lodgings with this cargo, which was a piece of fine black lustring silk, and a piece of velvet; the latter was but part of a piece of about eleven yards; the former was a whole piece of near fifty yards; it seems it was a mercer's shop that they had rifled; I say rifled, because the goods were so considerable that they had lost; for the goods that they recovered were pretty many, and I believe came to about six or seven several pieces of silk: how they came to get so many I could not tell; but as I had only robbed the thief, I made no scruple at taking these goods, and being very glad of them too.

I had pretty good luck thus far, and I made several adventures more, though with but small purchase, yet with good success, but I went in daily dread that some mischief would befall me, and that I should certainly come to be hanged at last. The impression this made on me was too strong to be slighted, and it kept me from making attempts, that, for aught I knew, might have been very safely performed; but one thing I cannot omit, which was a bait to me many a day. I walked frequently out into the villages round the town to see if nothing would fall in my way there; and going by a house near Stepney, I saw on the window-board two rings, one a small diamond ring, and the other a

plain gold ring, to be sure laid there by some thoughtless lady, that had more money than forecast, perhaps only till she washed her hands.

I walked several times by the window to observe if I could see whether there was anybody in the room or no, and I could see nobody, but still I was not sure; it came presently into my thoughts to rap at the glass, as if I wanted to speak with somebody, and if anybody was there they would be sure to come to the window, and then I would tell them to remove those rings, for that I had seen two suspicious fellows take notice of them. This was a ready thought; I rapped once or twice, and nobody came, when I thrust hard against the square of glass, and broke it with little noise, and took out the two rings, and walked away; the diamond ring was worth about 3*l.*, and the other about 9*s.*

I was now at a loss for a market for my goods, and especially for my two pieces of silk. I was very loath to dispose of them for a trifle, as the poor unhappy thieves in general do, who after they have ventured their lives for perhaps a thing of value, are forced to sell it for a song when they have done; but I was resolved I would not do thus, whatever shift I made; however, I did not well know what course to take. At last I resolved to go to my old governess, and acquaint myself with her again; I had punctually supplied the 5*l.* a year to her for my little boy as long as I was able; but at last was obliged to put a stop to it. However, I had written a letter to her, wherein I had told her that my circumstances were reduced; that I had lost my husband, and that I was not able to do it any longer, and begged the poor child might not suffer too much for its mother's misfortunes.

I now made her a visit, and I found that she drove something of the old trade still, but that she was not in such flourishing circumstances as before; for she had been sued by a certain gentleman, who had had his daughter stolen from him, and who it seems she had helped to convey away; and it was very narrowly that she escaped the gallows. The expense also had ravaged

her, so that her house was but meanly furnished, and she was not in such repute for her practice as before; however, she stood upon her legs, as they say, and as she was a bustling woman, and had some stock left, she was turned pawnbroker, and lived pretty well.

She received me very civilly, and with her usual obliging manner told me she would not have the less respect for me for my being reduced; that she had taken care my boy was very well looked after, though I could not pay for him, and that the woman that had him was easy, so that I needed not to trouble myself about him, till I might be better able to do it effectually.

I told her I had not much money left, but that I had some things that were money's worth, if she could tell me how I might turn them into money. She asked what it was I had? I pulled out the string of gold beads, and told her it was one of my husband's presents to me; then I showed her the two parcels of silk which I told her I had from Ireland, and brought up to town with me; and the little diamond ring. As to the small parcel of plate and spoons, I had found means to dispose of them myself before; and as for the childbed-linen I had, she offered me to take it herself, believing it to have been my own. She told me that she was turned pawnbroker, and that she would sell those things for me as pawned to her, and so she sent presently for proper agents that bought them, being in her hands, without any scruple, and gave good prices too.

I now began to think this necessary woman might help me a little in my low condition to some business; for I would gladly have turned my hand to any honest employment if I could have got it; but honest business did not come within her reach. If I had been younger, perhaps she might have helped me, but my thoughts were off of that kind of livelihood, as being quite out of the way after fifty, which was my case, and so I told her.

She invited me at last to come, and be at her house, till I could find something to do, and it should cost me very little, and this I gladly accepted of; and now living a little easier, I entered into some measures to have my

little son by my last husband taken off; and this she made easy too, reserving a payment only of 5*l.* a year, if I could pay it. This was such a help to me, that for a good while I left off the wicked trade that I had so newly taken up; and gladly I would have got work, but that was very hard to do for one that had no acquaintance.

However, at last I got some quilting work for ladies' beds, petticoats, and the like; and this I liked very well, and worked very hard, and with this I began to live; but the diligent devil who resolved I should continue in his service, continually prompted me to go out and take a walk, that is to say, to see if anything would offer in the old way.

One evening I blindly obeyed his summons, and fetched a long circuit through the streets, but met with no purchase; but not content with that, I went out the next evening too, when going by an alehouse I saw the door of a little room open, next the very street, and on the table a silver tankard, things much in use in public-houses at that time; it seems some company had been drinking there, and the careless boys had forgot to take it away.

I went into the box frankly, and setting the silver tankard on the corner of the bench, I sat down before it, and knocked with my foot; a boy came presently, and I bade him fetch me a pint of warm ale, for it was cold weather; the boy ran, and I heard him go down the cellar to draw the ale; while the boy was gone, another boy came, and cried, "D'ye call?" I spoke with a melancholy air, and said, "No, the boy is gone for a pint of ale for me."

While I sat here, I heard the woman in the bar say, "Are they all gone in the five?" which was the box I sat in, and the boy said, "Yes." "Who fetched the tankard away?" says the woman. "I did," says another boy, "that's it," pointing it seems to another tankard, which he had fetched from another box by mistake; or else it must be, that the rogue forgot that he had not brought it in, which certainly he had not.

I heard all this much to my satisfaction, for I found plainly that the tankard was not missed, and yet they concluded it was fetched away: so I drank my ale, called to pay, and as I went away, I said, "Take care of your plate, child," meaning a silver pint mug which he brought me to drink in: the boy said, "Yes, madam, very welcome," and away I came.

I came home to my governess, and now I thought it was a time to try her, that if I might be put to the necessity of being exposed she might offer me some assistance. When I had been at home some time, and had an opportunity of talking to her, I told her I had a secret of the greatest consequence in the world to commit to her, if she had respect enough for me to keep it a secret: she told me she had kept one of my secrets faithfully; why should I doubt her keeping another? I told her the strangest thing in the world had befallen me, even without any design; and so told her the whole story of the tankard. "And have you brought it away with you, my dear?" says she. "To be sure I have," says I, and showed it her. "But what shall I do now," says I, "must not I carry it again?"

"Carry it again!" says she; "Aye, if you want to go to Newgate." "Why," says I, "they can't be so base to stop me, when I carry it to them again?" "You don't know those sort of people, child," says she; "they'll not only carry you to Newgate, but hang you too, without any regard to the honesty of returning it; or bring in an account of all the other tankards as they have lost, for you to pay for." "What must I do then?" says I. "Nay," says she, "as you have played the cunning part and stole it, you must e'en keep it, there's no going back now; besides child," says she, "Don't you want it more than they do? I wish you could light of such a bargain once a week."

This gave me a new notion of my governess, and that since she was turned pawnbroker, she had a sort of people about her that were none of the honest ones that I had met with there before.

I had not been long there but I discovered it more

plainly than before, for every now and then I saw hilts of swords, spoons, forks, tankards, and all such kind of ware brought in, not to be pawned, but to be sold downright; and she bought them all without asking any questions, but had good bargains, as I found by her discourse.

I found also that in following this trade she always melted down the plate she bought, that it might not be challenged; and she came to me and told me one morning that she was going to melt, and if I would, she would put my tankard in, that it might not be seen by anybody; I told her with all my heart; so she weighed it, and allowed me the full value in silver again; but I found she did not do so to the rest of her customers.

Some time after this, as I was at work, and very melancholy, she begins to ask me what the matter was? I told her my heart was very heavy, I had little work and nothing to live on, and knew not what course to take. She laughed, and told me I must go out again and try my fortune; it might be that I might meet with another piece of plate. "O, mother!" says I, "that is a trade that I have no skill in, and if I should be taken I am undone at once." Says she, "I could help you to a schoolmistress, that shall make you as dexterous as herself." I trembled at that proposal, for hitherto I had had no confederates nor any acquaintance among that tribe. But she conquered all my modesty, and all my fears; and in a little time, by the help of this confederate, I grew as impudent a thief, and as dexterous, as ever Moll Cutpurse was, though, if fame does not belie her, not half so handsome.

The comrade she helped me to, dealt in three sorts of craft; viz., shoplifting, stealing of shop-books and pocket-books, and taking off gold watches from the ladies' sides; and this last she did so dexterously that no woman ever arrived to the perfection of that art, like her. I liked the first and the last of these things very well, and I attended her some time in the practice, just as a deputy attends a midwife, without any pay.

At length she put me to practice. She had shown me her art, and I had several times unhooked a watch from her own side with great dexterity; at last she showed me a prize, and this was a young lady with child, who had a charming watch. The thing was to be done as she came out of the church; she goes on one side of the lady, and pretends, just as she came to the steps, to fall, and fell against the lady with so much violence as put her into a great fright, and both cried out terribly: in the very moment that she jostled the lady, I had hold of the watch, and holding it the right way, the start she gave drew the hook out and she never felt it; I made off immediately, and left my schoolmistress to come out of her fright gradually, and the lady too; and presently the watch was missed; "Aye," says my comrade, "then it was those rogues that thrust me down, I warrant ye; I wonder the gentlewoman did not miss her watch before, then we might have taken them."

She humoured the thing so well that nobody suspected her, and I was got home a full hour before her. This was my first adventure in company; the watch was indeed a very fine one, and had many trinkets about it, and my governess allowed us 20*l.* for it, of which I had half. And thus I was entered a complete thief, hardened to a pitch above all the reflections of conscience or modesty, and to a degree which I never thought possible in me.

Thus the devil, who began, by the help of an irresistible poverty, to push me into this wickedness, brought me on to a height beyond the common rate, even when my necessities were not so terrifying; for I had now got into a little vein of work, and as I was not at a loss to handle my needle, it was very probable I might have got my bread honestly enough.

I must say, that if such a prospect of work had presented itself at first, when I began to feel the approach of my miserable circumstances; I say, had such a prospect of getting bread by working presented itself then, I had never fallen into this wicked trade, or

into such a wicked gang as I was now embarked with; but practice had hardened me, and I grew audacious to the last degree; and the more so, because I had carried it so long, and had never been taken; for in a word, my new partner in wickedness and I went on together so long, without being ever detected, that we not only grew bold, but we grew rich, and we had at one time one-and-twenty gold watches in our hands.

I remember that one day being a little more serious than ordinary, and finding I had so good a stock beforehand, as I had, for I had near 200*l.* in money for my share; it came strongly into my mind, no doubt from some kind spirit, if such there be, that as at first poverty excited me, and my distresses drove me to these dreadful shifts, so seeing those distresses were now relieved, and I could also get something towards a maintenance by working, and had so good a bank to support me, why should I not now leave off, while I was well; that I could not expect to go always free; and if I was once surprised, I was undone.

This was doubtless the happy minute, when, if I had hearkened to the blessed hint, from whatsoever hand it came, I had still a cast for an easy life. But my fate was otherwise determined; the busy devil that drew me in, had too fast hold of me to let me go back; but as poverty brought me in, so avarice kept me in, till there was no going back; as to the arguments which my reason dictated for persuading me to lay down, avarice stept in and said, "Go on, you have had very good luck, go on till you have gotten four or five hundred pound, and then you shall leave off, and then you may live easy without working at all."

Thus I that was once in the devil's clutches, was held fast there as with a charm, and had no power to go without the circle, till I was ingulfed in labyrinths of trouble too great to get out at all.

However, these thoughts left some impression upon me, and made me act with some more caution than before, and more than my directors used for themselves. My comrade, as I called her (she should have been

called my teacher), with another of her scholars, was the first in the misfortune; for happening to be upon the hunt for purchase, they made an attempt upon a linendraper in Cheapside, but were snapped by a hawk's-eyed journeyman, and seized with two pieces of cambric, which were taken also upon them.

This was enough to lodge them both in Newgate, where they had the misfortune to have some of their former sins brought to remembrance; two other indictments being brought against them, and the facts being proved upon them, they were both condemned to die; they both pleaded their bellies, and were both voted quick with child; though my tutoress was no more with child than I was.

I went frequently to see them, and condole with them, expecting that it would be my turn next; but the place gave me so much horror, reflecting that it was the place of my unhappy birth, and of my mother's misfortunes, that I could not bear it, so I left off going to see them.

And O! could I but have taken warning by their disasters, I had been happy still, for I was yet free, and had nothing brought against me; but it could not be, my measure was not yet filled up.

My comrade, having the brand of an old offender, was executed; the young offender was spared, having obtained a reprieve; but lay starving a long while in prison, till at last she got her name into what they call a circuit pardon, and so came off.

This terrible example of my comrade frighted me heartily, and for a good while I made no excursions; but one night, in the neighbourhood of my governess's house, they cried, "Fire"; my governess looked out, for we were all up, and cried immediately that such a gentlewoman's house was all of a light fire a-top, and so indeed it was. Here she gives me a jog; "Now, child," says she, "there is a rare opportunity, the fire being so near that you may go to it before the street is blocked up with the crowd." She presently gave me my cue; "Go, child," says she, "to the house, and

run in and tell the lady, or anybody you see, that you come to help them, and that you came from such a gentlewoman;" that is, one of her acquaintance farther up the street.

Away I went, and, coming to the house, I found them all in confusion, you may be sure; I run in, and finding one of the maids, "Alas, sweetheart!" said I, "how came this dismal accident? where is your mistress? is she safe? and where are the children? I come from Madam —— to help you." Away runs the maid; "Madam, madam," says she, screaming as loud as she could yell, "here is a gentlewoman come from Madam —— to help us." The poor woman, half out of her wits, with a bundle under her arm, and two little children, comes towards me; "Madam," says I, "let me carry the poor children to Madam ——, she desires you to send them; she'll take care of the poor lambs;" and so I takes one of them out of her hand, and she lifts the t'other up into my arms: "Aye, do, for God sake," says she, "carry them; Oh thank her for her kindness." "Have you anything else to secure, madam?" says I; "she will take care of it." "Oh dear!" says she, "God bless her, take this bundle of plate and carry it to her too. Oh she is a good woman; Oh, we are utterly ruined, undone!" And away she runs from me out of her wits, and the maids after her, and away comes I with the two children and the bundle.

I was no sooner got into the street, but I saw another woman come to me; "Oh!" says she, "mistress," in a piteous tone, "you will let fall the child; come, come, this is a sad time, let me help you;" and immediately lays hold of my bundle to carry it for me. "No," says I, "if you will help me, take the child by the hand, and lead it for me but to the upper end of the street; I'll go with you and satisfy you for your pains."

She could not avoid going, after what I said, but the creature, in short, was one of the same business with me, and wanted nothing but the bundle; however, she went with me to the door, for she could not help it; when we were come there I whispered her, "Go, child,"

said I, "I understand your trade, you may meet with purchase enough."

She understood me and walked off; I thundered at the door with the children, and as the people were raised before by the noise of the fire, I was soon let in, and I said, "Is madam awake? pray tell her Mrs. —— desires the favour of her to take the two children in; poor lady, she will be undone, their house is all of a flame." They took the children in very civilly, pitied the family in distress, and away came I with my bundle. One of the maids asked me if I was not to leave the bundle too; I said, "No, sweetheart, 'tis to go to another place, it does not belong to them."

I was a great way out of the hurry now, and so I went on and brought the bundle of plate, which was very considerable, straight home, to my old governess; she told me she would not look into it, but bade me go again and look for more.

She gave me the like cue to the gentlewoman of the next house to that which was on fire, and I did my endeavour to go, but by this time the alarm of fire was so great, and so many engines playing, and the street so thronged with people, that I could not get near the house, whatever I could do; so I came back again to my governess's, and taking the bundle up into my chamber, I began to examine it. It is with horror that I tell what a treasure I found there; 'tis enough to say, that besides most of the family plate, which was considerable, I found a gold chain, an old-fashioned thing, the locket of which was broken, so that I suppose it had not been used some years, but the gold was not the worse for that; also a little box of burying rings, the lady's wedding-ring, and some broken bits of old lockets of gold, a gold watch, and a purse with about 24*l.* value in old pieces of gold coin, and several other things of value.

This was the greatest and the worst prize that ever I was concerned in; for indeed, though, as I have said above, I was hardened now beyond the power of all reflection in other cases, yet it really touched me to the

very soul, when I looked into this treasure; to think of the poor disconsolate gentlewoman who had lost so much besides; and who would think to be sure that she had saved her plate and best things; how she would be surprised when she should find that she had been deceived, and that the person that took her children and her goods, had come, as was pretended, from the gentlewoman in next street, but that the children had been put upon her without her own knowledge.

I say, I confess the inhumanity of this action moved me very much, and made me relent exceedingly, and tears stood in my eyes upon that subject; but with all my sense of its being cruel and inhuman, I could never find in my heart to make any restitution. The reflection wore off, and I quickly forgot the circumstances that attended it.

Nor was this all; for though by this job I was become considerably richer than before, yet the resolution I had formerly taken of leaving off this horrid trade when I had gotten a little more did not return, but I must still get more; and the avarice had such success, that I had no more thoughts of coming to a timely alteration of life, though without it I could expect no safety, no tranquillity in the possession of what I had gained; a little more, and a little more, was the case still.

At length, yielding to the importunities of my crime, I cast off all remorse, and all the reflections on that head turned to no more than this, that I might perhaps come to have one booty more that might complete all; but though I certainly had that one booty, yet every hit looked towards another, and was so encouraging to me to go on with the trade, that I had no gust to the laying it down.

In this condition, hardened by success, and resolving to go on, I fell into the snare in which I was appointed to meet with my last reward for this kind of life. But even this was not yet, for I met with several successful adventures more in this way.

My governess was for awhile really concerned for this

misfortune of my comrade that had been hanged, for she knew enough of my governess to have sent her the same way, and which made her very uneasy; indeed she was in a very great fright.

It is true that when she was gone and had not told what she knew, my governess was easy as to that point, and perhaps glad she was hanged, for it was in her power to have obtained a pardon at the expense of her friends; but the loss of her, and the sense of her kindness in not making her market of what she knew, moved my governess to mourn very sincerely for her. I comforted her as well as I could, and she in return hardened me to merit more completely the same fate.

However, as I have said, it made me the more wary, and particularly I was very shy of shoplifting, especially among the mercers and drapers, who are a set of fellows that have their eyes very much about them. I made a venture or two among the lace folks, and the milliners, and particularly at one shop where two young women were newly set up, and had not been bred to trade: there I carried off a piece of bone-lace, worth six or seven pound, and a paper of thread; but this was but once, it was a trick that would not serve again.

It was always reckoned a safe job when we heard of a new shop, and especially when the people were such as were not bred to shops: such may depend upon it that they will be visited once or twice at their beginning, and they must be very sharp indeed if they can prevent it.

I made another adventure or two after this, but they were but trifles. Nothing considerable offering for a good while, I began to think that I must give over trade in earnest; but my governess, who was not willing to lose me, and expected great things of me, brought me one day into company with a young woman and a fellow that went for her husband, though as it appeared afterwards she was not his wife, but they were partners in the trade they carried on; and in something else too. In short, they robbed together,

lay together, were taken together, and at last were hanged together.

I came into a kind of league with these two by the help of my governess, and they carried me out into three or four adventures, where I rather saw them commit some coarse and unhandy robberies, in which nothing but a great stock of impudence on their side, and gross negligence on the people's side who were robbed, could have made them successful; so I resolved from that time forward to be very cautious how I adventured with them; and indeed when two or three unlucky projects were proposed by them, I declined the offer, and persuaded them against it. One time they particularly proposed robbing a watchmaker of three gold watches, which they had eyed in the daytime, and found the place where he laid them: one of them had so many keys of all kinds, that he made no question to open the place where the watchmaker had laid them; and so we made a kind of an appointment; but when I came to look narrowly into the thing, I found they proposed breaking open the house, and this I would not embark in, so they went without me. They did get into the house by main force, and broke up the locked place where the watches were, but found but one of the gold watches, and a silver one, which they took, and got out of the house again very clear; but the family being alarmed, cried out, "Thieves," and the man was pursued and taken; the young woman had got off too, but unhappily was stopped at a distance, and the watches found upon her; and thus I had a second escape, for they were convicted, and both hanged, being old offenders, though but young people; and as I said before, that they robbed together, so now they hanged together, and there ended my new partnership.

I began now to be very wary, having so narrowly escaped a scouring, and having such an example before me; but I had a new tempter, who prompted me every day, I mean my governess; and now a prize presented, which as it came by her management, so she expected a good share of the booty; there was a good quantity

ot Flanders lace lodged in a private house, where she had heard of it; and Flanders lace, being prohibited, it was a good booty to any custom-house officer that could come at it; I had a full account from my governess, as well of the quantity as of the very place where it was concealed, so I went to a custom-house officer, and told him I had a discovery to make to him, if he would assure me that I should have my due share of the reward; this was so just an offer, that nothing could be fairer; so he agreed, and taking a constable, and me with him, we beset the house; as I told him I could go directly to the place, he left it to me, and the hole being very dark, I squeezed myself into it, with a candle in my hand, and so reached the pieces out to him, taking care, as I gave him some, so to secure as much about myself as I could conveniently dispose of. There was near 300*l.* worth of lace in the whole; and I secured about 50*l.* worth of it myself. The people of the house were not owners of the lace, but a merchant who had entrusted them with it; so that they were not so surprised as I thought they would be.

I left the officer overjoyed with his prize, and fully satisfied with what he had got, and appointed to meet him at a house of his own directing, where I came after I had disposed of the cargo I had about me, of which he had not the least suspicion; when I came, he began to capitulate, believing I did not understand the right I had in the prize, and would fain have put me off with 20*l.*, but I let him know that I was not so ignorant as he supposed I was; and yet I was glad too, that he offered to bring me to a certainty; I asked 100*l.* and he rose up to 30*l.*; I fell to 80*l.* and he rose again to 40*l.*; in a word, he offered 50*l.* and I consented, only demanding a piece of lace, which I thought came to about 8*l.* or 9*l.*, as if it had been for my own wear, and he agreed to it; so I got 50*l.* in money paid me that same night, and made an end of the bargain; nor did he ever know who I was, or where to inquire for me; so that if it had been discovered that part of the goods were embezzled, he could have made no challenge upon me for it.

I very punctually divided this spoil with my governess, and I passed with her from this time for a very dexterous manager in the nicest cases; I found that this last was the best and easiest sort of work that was in my way, and I made it my business to inquire out prohibited goods; and after buying some, usually betrayed them, but none of these discoveries amounted to anything considerable, not like that I related just now; but I was cautious of running the great risks which I found others did, and in which they miscarried every day.

The next thing of moment, was an attempt at a gentlewoman's gold watch. It happened in a crowd, at a meeting-house, where I was in very great danger of being taken; I had full hold of her watch, but giving a great jostle as if somebody had thrust me against her, and in the juncture giving the watch a fair pull, I found it would not come, so I let it go that moment, and cried as if I had been killed, that somebody had trod upon my foot, and that there was certainly pick-pockets there, for somebody or other had given a pull at my watch; for you are to observe, that on these adventures we always went very well dressed, and I had very good clothes on, and a gold watch by my side, as like a lady as other folks.

I had no sooner said so, but the other gentlewoman cried out, "A pickpocket," too, for somebody, she said, had tried to pull her watch away.

When I touched her watch, I was close to her, but when I cried out, I stopped as it were short, and the crowd bearing her forward a little, she made a noise too, but it was at some distance from me, so that she did not in the least suspect me, but when she cried out, "A pickpocket," somebody cried out, "Aye, and here has been another, this gentlewoman has been attempted too."

At that very instant, a little farther in the crowd, and very luckily too, they cried out, "A pickpocket," again, and really seized a young fellow in the very fact. This, though unhappy for the wretch, was very opportunely for my case, though I had carried it handsomely

enough before; but now it was out of doubt, and all the loose part of the crowd run that way, and the poor boy was delivered up to the rage of the street, which is a cruelty I need not describe, and which, however, they are always glad of, rather than be sent to Newgate, where they lie often a long time, and sometimes they are hanged, and the best they can look for, if they are convicted, is to be transported.

This was a narrow escape to me, and I was so frighted that I ventured no more at gold watches a great while; there was indeed many circumstances in this adventure, which assisted to my escape: but the chief was, that the woman whose watch I had pulled at was a fool; that is to say, she was ignorant of the nature of the attempt, which one would have thought she should not have been, seeing she was wise enough to fasten her watch so that it could not be slipt up; but she was in such a fright, that she had no thought about her; for she, when she felt the pull, screamed out, and pushed herself forward, and put all the people about her into disorder, but said not a word of her watch, or of a pickpocket, for at least two minutes, which was time enough for me, and to spare; for as I had cried out behind her, as I have said, and bore myself back in the crowd as she bore forward, there were several people, at least seven or eight, the throng being still moving on, that were got between me and her in that time, and then I crying out, "A pickpocket," rather sooner than she, she might as well be the person suspected as I, and the people were confused in their inquiry; whereas, had she with a presence of mind needful on such an occasion, as soon as she felt the pull, not screamed out as she did, but turned immediately round, and seized the next body that was behind her, she had infallibly taken me.

This is a direction not of the kindest sort to the fraternity, but 'tis certainly a key to the clew of a pickpocket's motions; and whoever can follow it, will as certainly catch the thief as he will be sure to miss if he does not.

III

While pursuing her life of picking and stealing she is arrested in error, which should have been a lesson to her to reform her ill life, but was not.

I COULD fill up this whole discourse with the variety of such adventures, which daily invention directed to, and which I managed with the utmost dexterity, and always with success.

At length, as when does the pitcher come safe home that goes so often to the well, I fell into some broils, which, though they could not affect me fatally, yet made me known, which was the worst thing next to being found guilty that could befall me.

I had taken up the disguise of a widow's dress; it was without any real design in view, but only waiting for anything that might offer, as I often did. It happened that while I was going along a street in Covent-Garden, there was a great cry of "Stop thief, stop thief;" some artists had, it seems, put a trick upon a shopkeeper, and being pursued, some of them fled one way, and some another; and one of them was, they said, dressed up in widow's weeds, upon which the mob gathered about me, and some said I was the person, others said no. Immediately came the mercer's journeyman, and he swore aloud I was the person, and so seized on me; however, when I was brought back by the mob to the mercer's shop, the master of the house said freely that I was not the woman; and would have let me go immediately, but another fellow said gravely, "Pray stay till Mr. ——," meaning the journeyman, "comes back, for he knows her;" so they kept me near half an hour. They had called a constable, and he stood in the shop as my jailer; in talking with the constable I inquired where he lived, and what trade he was: the man not apprehending in the least what happened afterwards, readily told me his name, and where he lived; and told me as a jest, that I might be sure to hear of his name when I came to the Old Bailey.

The servants likewise used me saucily, and had much ado to keep their hands off me, the master indeed was civiller to me than they; but he would not let me go, though he owned he could not say I was in his shop before.

I began to be a little surly with him, and told him I hoped he would not take it ill, if I made myself amends upon him another time; and desired I might send for friends to see me have right done. No, he said, he could give no such liberty, I might ask it when I came before the justice of peace; and seeing I threatened him, he would take care of me in the mean time, and would lodge me safe in Newgate. I told him it was his time now, but it would be mine by and by, and governed my passion as well as I was able: however, I spoke to the constable to call me a porter, which he did, and then I called for pen, ink, and paper, but they would let me have none; I asked the porter his name, and where he lived, and the poor man told it me very willingly; I bade him observe and remember how I was treated there; that he saw I was detained there by force; I told him I should want him in another place, and it should not be the worse for him to speak. The porter said he would serve me with all his heart; "but, madam," says he, "let me hear them refuse to let you go, then I may be able to speak the plainer."

With that, I spoke aloud to the master of the shop, and said, "Sir, you know in your own conscience that I am not the person you look for, and that I was not in your shop before, therefore I demand that you detain me here no longer, or tell me the reason of your stopping me." The fellow grew surlier upon this than before, and said he would do neither till he thought fit. "Very well," said I, to the constable and to the porter, "you will be pleased to remember this, gentlemen, another time." The porter said, "Yes, madam;" and the constable began not to like it, and would have persuaded the mercer to dismiss him, and let me go, since, as he said, he owned I was not the person. "Good sir," says the mercer to him, tauntingly, "are you a justice of peace, or a constable? I charged you with

her, pray do your duty." The constable told him, a little moved, but very handsomely, "I know my duty, and what I am, sir: I doubt you hardly know what you are doing." They had some other hard words, and in the mean time the journeymen, impudent and unmanly to the last degree, used me barbarously, and one of them, the same that first seized upon me, pretended he would search me, and began to lay hands on me. I spit in his face, called out to the constable, and bade him take notice of my usage; "and pray, Mr. Constable," said I, "ask that villain's name," pointing to the man. The constable reproved him decently, told him that he did not know what he did, for he knew that his master acknowledged I was not the person; "and," says the constable, "I am afraid your master is bringing himself and me too into trouble, if this gentlewoman comes to prove who she is, and where she was, and it appears that she is not the woman you pretend to." "Damn her," says the fellow again, with an impudent hardened face, "she is the lady, you may depend upon it, I'll swear she is the same body that was in the shop, and that I gave the piece of satin that is lost into her own hand: you shall hear more of it when Mr. William and Mr. Anthony (those were other journeymen) come back, they will know her again as well as I."

Just as the insolent rogue was talking thus to the constable, comes back Mr. William and Mr. Anthony, as he called them, and a great rabble with them, bringing along with them the true widow that I was pretended to be; and they came sweating and blowing into the shop, and with a great deal of triumph dragging the poor creature in a most butcherly manner up towards their master, who was in the back shop; and they cried out aloud, "Here's the widow, sir, we have catched her at last." "What do you mean by that?" says the master; "why we have her already, there she sits, and Mr. —— says he can swear this is she." The other man, who they called Mr. Anthony, replied; "Mr. —— may say what he will, and swear what he will, but this is the woman, and there's the remnant of

satin she stole; I took it out of her clothes with my own hand."

I now began to take a better heart, but smiled, and said nothing; the master looked pale; the constable turned about and looked at me. "Let 'em alone, Mr. Constable," said I; "let 'em go on." The case was plain and could not be denied, so the constable was charged with the right thief, and the mercer told me very civilly he was sorry for the mistake, and hoped I would not take it ill; that they had so many things of this nature put upon them every day, that they could not be blamed for being very sharp in doing themselves justice. "Not take it ill, sir!" said I; "how can I take it well? if you had dismissed me when your insolent fellow seized on me in the street, and brought me to you, and when you yourself acknowledged I was not the person, I would have put it by, and not have taken it ill, because of the many ill things I believe you have put upon you daily; but your treatment of me since has been insufferable, and especially that of your servant, I must and will have reparation for that."

Then he began to parley with me, said he would make me any reasonable satisfaction, and would fain have had me told him what it was I expected. I told him I should not be my own judge, the law should decide it for me, and as I was to be carried before a magistrate, I should let him hear there what I had to say. He told me there was no occasion to go before the justice now, I was at liberty to go where I pleased; and calling to the constable, told him he might let me go, for I was discharged. The constable said calmly to him, "Sir, you asked me just now, if I knew whether I was a constable or a justice, and bade me do my duty, and charged me with this gentlewoman as a prisoner; now, sir, I find you do not understand what is my duty, for you would make me a justice indeed; but I must tell you it is not in my power: I may keep a prisoner when I am charged with him, but 'tis the law and the magistrate alone that can discharge that prisoner; therefore, 'tis a mistake sir, I must carry her

before a justice now, whether you think well of it or not." The mercer was very high with the constable at first; but the constable happening to be not a hired officer, but a good, substantial kind of man (I think he was a corn-chandler), and a man of good sense, stood to his business, would not discharge me without going to a justice of the peace, and I insisted upon it too. When the mercer saw that, "Well," says he to the constable, "you may carry her where you please, I have nothing to say to her." "But, sir," says the constable, "you will go with us, I hope, for 'tis you that charged me with her." "No, not I," says the mercer, "I tell you I have nothing to say to her." "But pray, sir, do," says the constable; "I desire it of you for your own sake, for the justice can do nothing without you." "Prithee, fellow," says the mercer, "go about your business; I tell you I have nothing to say to the gentlewoman, I charge you in the king's name to dismiss her." "Sir," says the constable, "I find you don't know what it is to be a constable; I beg of you don't oblige me to be rude to you." "I think I need not, you are rude enough already," says the mercer. "No, sir," says the constable, "I am not rude; you have broken the peace in bringing an honest woman out of the street, when she was about her lawful occasions, confining her in your shop, and ill using her here by your servants; and now can you say I am rude to you? I think I am civil to you, in not commanding you in the king's name to go with me, and charging every man I see that passes your door, to aid and assist me in carrying you by force; this you know I have power to do, and yet I forbear it, and once more entreat you to go with me." Well, he would not for all this, and gave the constable ill language. However, the constable kept his temper, and would not be provoked; and then I put in and said, "Come, Mr. Constable, let him alone; I shall find ways enough to fetch him before a magistrate, I don't fear that; but there's that fellow," says I, "he was the man that seized on me as I was innocently going along the street, and you are a witness of his

violence with me since; give me leave to charge you with him, and carry him before a justice." "Yes, madam," says the constable; and turning to the fellow, "Come young gentleman," says he to the journeyman, "you must go along with us; I hope you are not above the constable's power, though your master is."

The fellow looked like a condemned thief and hung back, then looked at his master, as if he could help him; and he, like a fool, encouraged the fellow to be rude, and he truly resisted the constable, and pushed him back with a good force when he went to lay hold on him, at which the constable knocked him down, and called out for help. Immediately the shop was filled with people, and the constable seized the master and man, and all his servants.

The first ill consequence of this fray was, that the woman who was really the thief made off, and got clear away in the crowd; and two others that they had stopped also; whether they were really guilty or not, that I can say nothing to.

By this time some of his neighbours having come in, and seeing how things went, had endeavoured to bring the mercer to his senses; and he began to be convinced that he was in the wrong; and so at length we went all very quietly before the justice, with a mob of about five hundred people at our heels; and all the way we went I could hear the people ask what was the matter, and others reply and say, a mercer had stopped a gentlewoman instead of a thief, and had afterwards taken the thief, and now the gentlewoman had taken the mercer, and was carrying him before the justice. This pleased the people strangely, and made the crowd increase, and they cried out as they went, "Which is the rogue? Which is the mercer?" and especially the women. Then when they saw him they cried out, "That's he, that's he;" and every now and then came a good dab of dirt at him; and thus we marched a good while, till the mercer thought fit to desire the constable to call a coach to protect himself from the rabble; so we rode the rest

of the way, the constable and I, and the mercer and his man.

When we came to the justice, which was an ancient gentleman in Bloomsbury, the constable giving first a summary account of the matter, the justice bade me speak, and tell what I had to say; and first he asked my name, which I was very loath to give, but there was no remedy, so I told him my name was Mary Flanders, that I was a widow, my husband being a sea captain, died on a voyage to Virginia; and some other circumstances I told which he could never contradict, and that I lodged at present in town, with such a person, naming my governess; but that I was preparing to go over to America, where my husband's effects lay, and that I was going that day to buy some clothes to put myself into second mourning, but had not yet been in any shop, when that fellow, pointing to the mercer's journeyman, came rushing upon me with such fury, as very much frighted me, and carried me back to his master's shop; where, though his master acknowledged I was not the person, yet he would not dismiss me, but charged a constable with me.

Then I proceeded to tell how the journeymen treated me; how they would not suffer me to send for any of my friends; how afterwards they found the real thief, and took the goods they had lost upon her, and all the particulars as before.

Then the constable related his case; his dialogue with the mercer about discharging me, and at last his servant's refusing to go with him, when I had charged him with him, and his master encouraging him to do so; and at last his striking the constable, and the like, all as I have told it already.

The justice then heard the mercer and his man. The mercer indeed made a long harangue of the great loss they have daily by the lifters and thieves; that it was easy for them to mistake, and that when he found it, he would have dismissed me, &c., as above. As to the journeyman, he had very little to say, but that he pretended other of the servants told him that I was really the person.

Upon the whole, the justice first of all told me very courteously I was discharged ; that he was very sorry that the mercer's man should in his eager pursuit have so little discretion as to take up an innocent person for a guilty ; that if he had not been so unjust as to detain me afterwards, he believed I would have forgiven the first affront ; that, however, it was not in his power to award me any reparation, other than by openly reproving them, which he should do ; but he supposed I would apply to such methods as the law directed ; in the meantime he would bind him over.

But as to the breach of the peace committed by the journeyman, he told me he should give me some satisfaction for that, for he should commit him to Newgate for assaulting the constable, and for assaulting of me also.

Accordingly he sent the fellow to Newgate for that assault, and his master gave bail, and so we came away ; but I had the satisfaction of seeing the mob wait upon them both, as they came out, hallooing and throwing stones and dirt at the coaches they rode in ; and so I came home.

After this hustle, coming home, and telling my governess the story, she falls a-laughing at me. "Why are you so merry ?" says I, "the story has not so much laughing room in it, as you imagine ; I am sure I have had a great deal of hurry and fright too, with a pack of ugly rogues." "Laugh," says my governess, "I laugh, child, to see what a lucky creature you are ; why this job will be the best bargain to you that ever you made in your life, if you manage it well. I warrant you, you shall make the mercer pay 500*l.* for damages, besides what you shall get of the journeyman."

I had other thoughts of the matter than she had ; and especially, because I had given in my name to the justice of peace ; and I knew that my name was so well known among the people at Hicks's-Hall, the Old Bailey, and such places, that if this cause came to be tried openly, and my name came to be inquired into, no court would give much damages, for the reputation of a

person of such a character. However, I was obliged to begin a prosecution in form, and accordingly my governess found me out a very creditable sort of a man to manage it, being an attorney of very good business, and of good reputation, and she was certainly in the right of this; for had she employed a pettifogging hedge solicitor, or a man not known, I should have brought it to but little.

I met this attorney, and gave him all the particulars at large, as they are recited above; and he assured me it was a case, as he said, that he did not question but that a jury would give very considerable damages; so taking his full instructions, he began the prosecution, and the mercer being arrested, gave bail; a few days after his giving bail, he comes with his attorney to my attorney, to let him know that he desired to accommodate the matter; that it was all carried on in the heat of an unhappy passion; that his client, meaning me, had a sharp provoking tongue, and that I used them ill, gibing at them, and jeering them, even while they believed me to be the very person, and that I had provoked them, and the like.

My attorney managed as well on my side; made them believe I was a widow of fortune, that I was able to do myself justice, and had great friends to stand by me too, who had all made me promise to sue to the utmost, if it cost me a thousand pound, for that the affronts I had received were unsufferable.

However, they brought my attorney to this, that he promised he would not blow the coals; that if I inclined to an accommodation, he would not hinder me, and that he would rather persuade me to peace than to war; for which they told him he should be no loser; all which he told me very honestly, and told me that if they offered him any bribe, I should certainly know it; but upon the whole he told me very honestly that if I would take his opinion, he would advise me to make it up with them, for that as they were in a great fright, and were desirous above all things to make it up, and knew that let it be what it would, they must bear all the

costs, he believed they would give me freely more than any jury would give upon a trial. I asked him what he thought they would be brought to; he told me he could not tell, as to that, but he would tell me more when I saw him again.

Some time after this they came again, to know if he had talked with me. He told them he had, that he found me not so averse to an accommodation as some of my friends were, who resented the disgrace offered me, and set me on; that they blowed the coals in secret, prompting me to revenge, or to do myself justice, as they called it; so that he could not tell what to say to it; he told them he would do his endeavour to persuade me, but he ought to be able to tell me what proposal they made. They pretended they could not make any proposal, because it might be made use of against them; and he told them, that by the same rule he could not make any offers, for that might be pleaded in abatement of what damages a jury might be inclined to give. However, after some discourse, and mutual promises that no advantage should be taken on either side, by what was transacted then, or at any other of those meetings, they came to a kind of a treaty; but so remote, and so wide from one another, that nothing could be expected from it; for my attorney demanded 500*l.* and charges, and they offered 50*l.* without charges; so they broke off, and the mercer proposed to have a meeting with me myself; and my attorney agreed to that very readily.

My attorney gave me notice to come to this meeting in good clothes, and with some state, that the mercer might see I was something more than I seemed to be that time they had me. Accordingly I came in a new suit of second mourning, according to what I had said at the justice's; I set myself out too, as well as a widow's dress would admit; my governess also furnished me with a good pearl necklace, that shut in behind with a locket of diamonds, which she had in pawn; and I had a very good gold watch by my side: so that I made a very good figure, and as I stayed till

I was sure they were come, I came in a coach to the door, with my maid with me.

When I came into the room, the mercer was surprised; he stood up and made his bow, which I took a little notice of, and but a little, and went and sat down where my own attorney had appointed me to sit, for it was his house. After awhile, the mercer said, he did not know me again, and began to make some compliments. I told him, I believed he did not know me, at first; and that if he had, he would not have treated me as he did.

He told me he was very sorry for what had happened, and that it was to testify the willingness he had to make all possible reparation, that he had appointed this meeting; that he hoped I would not carry things to extremity, which might be not only too great a loss to him, but might be the ruin of his business and shop, in which case I might have the satisfaction of repaying an injury with an injury ten times greater; but that I would then get nothing, whereas he was willing to do me any justice that was in his power, without putting himself or me to the trouble or charge of a suit of law.

I told him I was glad to hear him talk so much more like a man of sense than he did before; that it was true, acknowledgment in most cases of affronts was counted reparation sufficient; but this had gone too far to be made up so; that I was not revengeful, nor did I seek his ruin, or any man's else, but that all my friends were unanimous not to let me so far neglect my character, as to adjust a thing of this kind without reparation. That to be taken up for a thief, was such an indignity as could not be put up, that my character was above being treated so by any that knew me, but because in my condition of a widow I had been careless of myself, I might be taken for such a creature, but that for the particular usage I had from him afterward; and then I repeated all as before, it was so provoking, I had scarce patience to repeat it.

He acknowledged all, and was mighty humble indeed; he came up to 100*l.*, and to pay all the law

charges, and added, that he would make me a present of a very good suit of clothes; I came down to 300*l.*, and demanded that I should publish an advertisement of the particulars in the common newspapers.

This was a clause he never could comply with; however, at last he came up, by good management of my attorney, to 150*l.* and a suit of black silk clothes, and there, as it were at my attorney's request, I complied; he paying my attorney's bill and charges, and gave us a good supper into the bargain.

When I came to receive the money, I brought my governess with me, dressed like an old duchess, and a gentleman very well dressed, who we pretended courted me, but I called him cousin, and the lawyer was only to hint privately to them, that this gentleman courted the widow.

He treated us handsomely indeed, and paid the money cheerfully enough; so that it cost him 200*l.* in all, or rather more. At our last meeting, when all was agreed, the case of the journeyman came up, and the mercer begged very hard for him, told me he was a man that had kept a shop of his own, and been in good business, had a wife and several children, and was very poor; that he had nothing to make satisfaction with, but should beg my pardon on his knees. I had no spleen at the saucy rogue, nor were his submissions anything to me, since there was nothing to be got by him; so I thought it was as good to throw that in generously as not, so I told him I did not desire the ruin of any man, and therefore at his request I would forgive the wretch, it was below me to seek any revenge.

When we were at supper he brought the poor fellow in to make his acknowledgment, which he would have done with as much mean humility as his offence was with insulting pride; in which he was an instance of a complete baseness of spirit, imperious, cruel, and relentless when uppermost, abject and low-spirited when down. However, I abated his cringes, told him I forgave him and desired he might withdraw, as if I did

not care for the sight of him, though I had forgiven him.

I was now in good circumstances indeed, if I could have known my time for leaving off, and my governess often said I was the richest of the trade in England, and so I believe I was; for I had 700*l.* by me in money, besides clothes, rings, some plate, and two gold watches, and all of them stolen, for I had innumerable jobs, besides these I have mentioned. Oh! had I even now had the grace of repentance, I had still leisure to have looked back upon my follies, and have made some reparation; but the satisfaction I was to make for the public mischiefs I had done, was yet left behind; and I could not forbear going abroad again, as I called it now, any more than I could when my extremity really drove me out for bread.

IV

An unlucky attempt upon some cloth brings her to the condemned cell in Newgate. She is reprieved almost at the last moment, and sentenced to be transported for life. In Virginia, as usually happens with Defoe's characters, her marriages get rather mixed; but he contrives, nevertheless, to make her prosper, so that she can return to England, a rich woman, at the age of seventy.

It was on the Christmas Day following, in the evening, that to finish a long train of wickedness, I went abroad to see what might offer in my way; when going by a working silversmith's in Foster-Lane, I saw a tempting bait indeed, and not to be resisted by one of my occupation; for the shop had nobody in it, and a great deal of loose plate lay in the window, and at the seat of the man, who I suppose worked at one side of the shop.

I went boldly in, and was just going to lay my hand upon a piece of plate, and might have done it, and carried it clear off, for any care that the men who belonged to the shop had taken of it; but an officious

fellow in a house on the other side of the way, seeing me go in, and that there was nobody in the shop, comes running over the street, and without asking me what I was, or who, seizes upon me, and cries out for the people of the house.

I had not touched anything in the shop, and seeing a glimpse of somebody running over, I had so much presence of mind as to knock very hard with my foot on the floor of the house, and was just calling out too, when the fellow laid hands on me.

However, as I had always most courage when I was in most danger, so when he laid hands on me, I stood very high upon it, that I came in to buy half a dozen of silver spoons ; and to my good fortune, it was a silversmith's that sold plate, as well as worked plate for other shops. The fellow laughed at that part, and put such a value upon the service that he had done his neighbour, that he would have it be, that I came not to buy, but to steal, and raising a great crowd, I said to the master of the shop, who by this time was fetched home from some neighbouring place, that it was in vain to make a noise, and enter into talk there of the case ; the fellow had insisted that I came to steal, and he must prove it, and I desired we might go before a magistrate without any more words ; for I began to see I should be too hard for the man that had seized me.

The master and mistress of the shop were really not so violent as the man from t'other side of the way ; and the man said, "Mistress, you might come into the shop with a good design for ought I know, but it seemed a dangerous thing for you to come into such a shop as mine is, when you see nobody there ; and I cannot do so little justice to my neighbour, who was so kind, as not to acknowledge he had reason on his side ; though upon the whole I do not find you attempted to take anything, and I really know not what to do in it." I pressed him to go before a magistrate with me, and if anything could be proved on me, that was like a design, I should willingly submit, but if not, I expected reparation.

Just while we were in this debate, and a crowd of

people gathered about the door, came by Sir T. B., an alderman of the city, and justice of the peace, and the goldsmith hearing of it, entreated his worship to come in and decide the case.

Give the goldsmith his due, he told his story with a great deal of justice and moderation, and the fellow that had come over, and seized upon me, told his with as much heat, and foolish passion, which did me good still. It came then to my turn to speak, and I told his worship that I was a stranger in London, being newly come out of the north; that I lodged in such a place, that I was passing this street, and went into a goldsmith's shop to buy half a dozen of spoons. By great good luck I had an old silver spoon in my pocket, which I pulled out, and told him I had carried that spoon to match it with half a dozen of new ones, that it might match some I had in the country.

That seeing nobody in the shop, I knocked with my foot very hard to make the people hear, and had also called aloud with my voice: 'tis true, there was loose plate in the shop, but that nobody could say I had touched any of it; that a fellow came running into the shop out of the street, and laid hands on me in a furious manner, in the very moment while I was calling for the people of the house; that if he had really had a mind to have done his neighbour any service, he should have stood at a distance, and silently watched to see whether I had touched anything, or no, and then have taken me in the fact. "That is very true," says Mr. Alderman, and turning to the fellow that stopt me, he asked him if it was true that I knocked with my foot? He said yes, I had knocked, but that might be because of his coming. "Nay," says the alderman, taking him short, "now you contradict yourself, for just now you said she was in the shop with her back to you, and did not see you till you came upon her." Now it was true that my back was partly to the street, but yet as my business was of a kind that required me to have eyes every way, so I really had a glance of him running over, as I said before, though he did not perceive it.

After a full hearing, the alderman gave it as his opinion, that his neighbour was under a mistake, and that I was innocent, and the goldsmith acquiesced in it too, and his wife, and so I was dismissed; but as I was going to depart, Mr. Alderman said, "But hold, madam, if you were designing to buy spoons, I hope you will not let my friend here lose his customer by the mistake." I readily answered, "No sir, I'll buy the spoons still, if he can match my odd spoon, which I brought for a pattern," and the goldsmith showed me some of the very same fashion; so he weighed the spoons, and they came to [illegible], so I pulls out my purse to pay him, in which I had near twenty guineas, for I never went without such a sum about me, whatever might happen, and I found it of use at other times as well as now.

When Mr. Alderman saw my money, he said, "Well, madam, now I am satisfied you were wronged; and it was for this reason that I moved you should buy the spoons, and stayed till you had bought them, for if you had not had money to pay for them, I should have suspected that you did not come into the shop to buy, for the sort of people who come upon those designs that you have been charged with, are seldom troubled with much gold in their pockets, as I see you are."

I smiled, and told his worship, that then I owed something of his favour to my money, but I hoped he now reason also in the justice he had done me before. He said, Yes, he had, but this had confirmed his opinion, and he was fully satisfied now of my having been injured. So I came well off from an affair in which I was at the very brink of destruction.

It was not three days after this, that not at all made cautious by my former danger, as I used to be, and still pursuing the art which I had so long been employed in, I ventured into a house where I saw the doors open, and furnished myself as I thought verily without being punished, with two pieces of flowered silks, such as they call brocaded silk, very rich. It was not a mercer's shop, nor a warehouse of a mercer, but looked like a

private dwelling-house, and was, it seems, inhabited by a man that sold goods for a weaver to the mercers, like a broker or factor.

That I may make short of the black part of this story, I was attacked by two wenches that came open-mouthed at me just as I was going out at the door, and one of them pulled me back into the room, while the other shut the door upon me. I would have given them good words, but there was no room for it; two fiery dragons could not have been more furious; they tore my clothes, bullied and roared, as if they would have murdered me; the mistress of the house came next, and then the master, and all outrageous.

I gave the master very good words, told him the door was open, and things were a temptation to me, that I was poor and distressed, and poverty was what many could not resist, and begged him, with tears, to have pity on me. The mistress of the house was moved with compassion, and inclined to have let me go, and had almost persuaded her husband to it also, but the saucy wenches were run even before they were sent, and had fetched a constable, and then the master said he could not go back, I must go before a justice, and answered his wife, that he might come into trouble himself if he should let me go.

The sight of the constable indeed struck me, and I thought I should have sunk into the ground; I fell into faintings, and indeed the people themselves thought I would have died, when the woman argued again for me, and entreated her husband, seeing they had lost nothing, to let me go. I offered him to pay for the two pieces, whatever the value was, though I had not got them, and argued that as he had his goods, and had really lost nothing, it would be cruel to pursue me to death, and have my blood for the bare attempt of taking them. I put the constable in mind too that I had broke no doors, nor carried anything away; and when I came to the justice, and pleaded there that I had neither broken anything to get in, nor carried anything out, the justice was inclined to have released me; but the first

saucy jade that stopped me, affirming that I was going out with the goods, but that she stopped me and pulled me back, the justice upon that point committed me, and I was carried to Newgate. That horrid place! my very blood chills at the mention of its name; the place where so many of my comrades had been locked up, and from whence they went to the fatal tree; the place where my mother suffered so deeply, where I was brought into the world, and from whence I expected no redemption, but by an infamous death: to conclude, the place that had so long expected me, and which with so much art and success I had so long avoided.

I was now fixed indeed; 'tis impossible to describe the terror of my mind, when I was first brought in, and when I looked round upon all the horrors of that dismal place; I looked on myself as lost, and that I had nothing to think of but of going out of the world, and that with the utmost infamy; the hellish noise, the roaring, swearing and clamour, the stench and nastiness, and all the dreadful afflicting things that I saw there, joined to make the place seem an emblem of hell itself, and a kind of an entrance into it.

Now I reproached myself with the many hints I had had, as I have mentioned above, from my own reason, from the sense of my good circumstances, and of the many dangers I had escaped, to leave off while I was well, and how I had withstood them all, and hardened my thoughts against all fear; it seemed to me that I was hurried on by an inevitable fate to this day of misery, and that now I was to expiate all my offences at the gallows; that I was now to give satisfaction to justice with my blood, and that I was to come to the last hour of my life and of my wickedness together. These things poured themselves in upon my thoughts in a confused manner, and left me overwhelmed with melancholy and despair.

Then I repented heartily of all my life past, but that repentance yielded me no satisfaction, no peace, no, not in the least, because, as I said to myself, it was repenting after the power of farther sinning was taken away.

I seemed not to mourn that I had committed such crimes, and for the fact, as it was an offence against God and my neighbour; but that I was to be punished for it; I was a penitent as I thought, not that I had sinned, but that I was to suffer, and this took away all the comfort of my repentance in my own thoughts.

I got no sleep for several nights or days after I came into that wretched place, and glad I would have been for some time to have died there, though I did not consider dying as it ought to be considered neither; indeed nothing could be filled with more horror to my imagination than the very place, nothing was more odious to me than the company that was there. Oh! if I had but been sent to any place in the world, and not to Newgate, I should have thought myself happy.

In the next place, how did the hardened wretches that were there before me triumph over me! "What! Mrs. Flanders come to Newgate at last?" What, Mrs. Mary, Mrs. Molly, and after that plain Moll Flanders! They thought the devil had helped me, they said, that I had reigned so long; they expected me there many years ago, they said, and was I come at last? Then they flouted me with dejections, welcomed me to the place, wished me joy, bid me have a good heart, not be cast down, things might not be so bad as I feared, and the like; then called for brandy, and drank to me; but put it all up to my score, for they told me I was but just come to the college, as they called it, and sure I had money in my pocket, though they had none.

I asked one of this crew how long she had been there. She said four months. I asked her how the place looked to her when she first came into it? "Just as it did now to me," says she, "dreadful and frightful"; that she thought she was in hell; "and I believe so still," adds she, "but it is natural to me now, I don't disturb myself about it." "I suppose," says I, "you are in no danger of what is to follow." "Nay," says she, "you are mistaken there I am sure, for I am under sentence, only I pleaded my belly, but

am no more with child than the judge that tried me, and I expect to be called down next session." This "calling down" is calling down to their former judgment, when a woman has been respited for her belly, but proves not to be with child, or if she has been with child, and has been brought to bed. "Well," says I, "and are you thus easy?" "Aye," says she, "I can't help myself, what signifies being sad? if I am hanged there's an end of me." And away she turned dancing, and sings as she goes, the following piece of Newgate wit:

If I swing by the string,
I shall hear the bell ring,[1]
And then there's an end of poor Jenny.

I mention this because it would be worth the observation of any prisoner, who shall hereafter fall into the same misfortune, and come to that dreadful place of Newgate, how time, necessity, and conversing with the wretches that are there, familiarizes the place to them; how at last they become reconciled to that which at first was the greatest dread upon their spirits in the world, and are as impudently cheerful and merry in their misery, as they were when out of it.

I cannot say, as some do, this devil is not so black as he is painted; for indeed no colours can represent that place to the life; nor any soul conceive aright of it, but those who have been sufferers there. But how hell should become by degrees so natural, and not only tolerable, but even agreeable, is a thing unintelligible, but by those who have experienced it, as I have.

The same night that I was sent to Newgate, I sent the news of it to my old governess, who was surprised at it you may be sure, and spent the night almost as ill out of Newgate, as I did in it.

The next morning she came to see me; she did what she could to comfort me, but she saw that was to no purpose; however, as she said, to sink under the weight was but to increase the weight; she immediately

[1] The bell at St. Sepulchre's, which tolls upon execution-day.—ORIG. NOTE.

applied herself to all the proper methods to prevent the effects of it, which we feared, and first she found out the two fiery jades that had surprised me; she tampered with them, persuaded them, offered them money, and, in a word, tried all imaginable ways to prevent a prosecution; she offered one of the wenches 100*l.* to go away from her mistress, and not to appear against me; but she was so resolute, that though she was but a servant-maid at 3*l.* a year wages, or thereabouts, she refused it, and would have refused, as my governess said she believed, if she had offered her 500*l.* Then she attacked the other maid; she was not so hard-hearted as the other, and sometimes seemed inclined to be merciful; but the first wench kept her up, and would not so much as let my governess talk with her, but threatened to have her up for tampering with the evidence.

Then she applied to the master, that is to say, the man whose goods had been stolen, and particularly to his wife, who was inclined at first to have some compassion for me; she found the woman the same still, but the man alleged he was bound to prosecute, and that he should forfeit his recognizance.

My governess offered to find friends that should get his recognizances off of the file, as they call it, and that he should not suffer; but it was not possible to convince him that he could be safe any way in the world but by appearing against me; so I was to have three witnesses of fact against me, the master and his two maids; that is to say, I was as certain to be cast for my life as I was that I was alive, and I had nothing to do but to think of dying. I had but a sad foundation to build upon for that, as I said before, for all my repentance appeared to me to be only the effect of my fear of death, not a sincere regret for the wicked life that I had lived, and which had brought this misery upon me, or for the offending my Creator, who was now suddenly to be my judge.

I lived many days here under the utmost horror; I had death as it were in view, and thought of nothing night or day, but of gibbets and halters, evil spirits and

devils; it is not to be expressed how I was harassed, between the dreadful apprehensions of death, and the terror of my conscience reproaching me with my past horrible life.

The ordinary of Newgate came to me, and talked a little in his way, but all his divinity run upon confessing my crime, as he called it (though he knew not what I was in for), making a full discovery, and the like, without which he told me God would never forgive me; and he said so little to the purpose, that I had no manner of consolation from him; and then to observe the poor creature preaching confession and repentance to me in the morning, and find him drunk with brandy by noon, this had something in it so shocking, that I began to nauseate the man, and his work too by degrees, for the sake of the man; so that I desired him to trouble me no more.

I know not how it was, but by the indefatigable application of my diligent governess I had no bill preferred against me the first sessions, I mean to the grand jury, at Guildhall; so I had another month or five weeks before me, and without doubt this ought to have been accepted by me as so much time given me for reflection upon what was past, and preparation for what was to come. I ought to have esteemed it as a space given me for repentance, and have employed it as such; but it was not in me. I was sorry, as before, for being in Newgate but had few signs of repentance about me.

On the contrary, like the water in the hollows of mountains, which petrifies and turns into stone whatever they are suffered to drop upon; so the continual conversing with such a crew of hell-hounds had the same common operation upon me as upon other people; I degenerated into stone, I turned first stupid and senseless, and then brutish and thoughtless, and at last raving mad as any of them were; in short, I became as naturally pleased and easy with the place, as if indeed I had been born there.

It is scarce possible to imagine that our natures should be capable of so much degeneracy, as to make that

pleasant and agreeable, that in itself is the most complete misery. Here was a circumstance, that I think it is scarce possible to mention a worse; I was as exquisitely miserable, as it was possible for any one to be, that had life and health, and money to help them as I had.

I had a weight of guilt upon me, enough to sink any creature who had the least power of reflection left, and had any sense upon them of the happiness of this life, or the misery of another; I had at first some remorse indeed, but no repentance; I had now neither remorse or repentance. I had a crime charged on me, the punishment of which was death; the proof so evident, that there was no room for me, so much as to plead Not guilty; I had the name of an old offender, so that I had nothing to expect but death, neither had I myself any thoughts of escaping, and yet a certain strange lethargy of soul possessed me; I had no trouble, no apprehensions, no sorrow about me; the first surprise was gone; I was, I may well say, I know not how; my senses, my reason, nay, my conscience, were all asleep; my course of life for forty years had been a horrid complication of wickedness, whoredom, adultery, incest, lying, theft, and, in a word, everything but murder and treason had been my practice, from the age of eighteen, or thereabouts, to threescore; and now I was engulfed in the misery of punishment, and had an infamous death at the door, and yet I had no sense of my condition, no thought of heaven or hell, at least that went any farther than a bare flying touch, like the stitch or pain that gives a hint and goes off; I neither had a heart to ask God's mercy, or indeed to think of it. And in this I think I have given a brief description of the completest misery on earth.

All my terrifying thoughts were past, the horrors of the place were become familiar, and I felt no more uneasiness at the noise and clamours of the prison, than they did who made that noise; in a word, I was become a mere Newgate-bird, as wicked and as outrageous as any of them; nay, I scarce retained the habit and

custom of good breeding and manners, which all along till now run through my conversation; so thorough a degeneracy had possessed me, that I was no more the same thing that I had been, than if I had never been otherwise than what I was now.

In the middle of this hardened part of my life, I had another sudden surprise, which called me back a little to that thing called sorrow, which indeed I began to be past the sense of before. They told me one night, that there was brought into the prison late the night before, three highwaymen, who had committed a robbery somewhere on Hounslow-heath, I think it was, and were pursued to Uxbridge by the country, and there taken after a gallant resistance, in which many of the country people were wounded, and some killed.

It is not to be wondered that we prisoners were all desirous enough to see these brave, topping gentlemen, that were talked up to be such as their fellows had not been known, and especially because it was said they would in the morning be removed into the press-yard, having given money to the head master of the prison, to be allowed the liberty of that better place. So we that were women placed ourselves in the way, that we would be sure to see them; but nothing could express the amazement and surprise I was in, when the first man that came out, I knew to be my Lancashire husband, the same with whom I lived so well at Dunstable, and the same who I afterwards saw at Brickhill, when I was married to my last husband, as has been related.

I was struck dumb at the sight, and knew neither what to say, or what to do; he did not know me, and that was all the present relief I had: I quitted my company, and retired as much as that dreadful place suffers anybody to retire, and cried vehemently for a great while; "Dreadful creature that I am," said I, "how many poor people have I made miserable! how many desperate wretches have I sent to the devil!" This gentleman's misfortunes I placed all to my own account. He had told me at Chester, he was ruined by

that match, and that his fortunes were made desperate on my account; for that thinking I had been a fortune he was run into debt more than he was able to pay; that he would go into the army, and carry a musket, or buy a horse and take a tour, as he called it; and though I never told him that I was a fortune, and so did not actually deceive him myself, yet I did encourage its having it thought so, and so I was the occasion originally of his mischief.

The surprise of this thing only struck deeper in my thoughts, and gave me stronger reflections than all that had befallen me before; I grieved day and night, and the more for that they told me he was the captain of the gang, and that he had committed so many robberies, that Hind, or Whitney, or the Golden Farmer were fools to him; that he would surely be hanged if there were no more men left in the country; and that there would be abundance of people come in against him.

I was overwhelmed with grief for him; my own case gave me no disturbance compared to this, and I loaded myself with reproaches on his account; I bewailed my misfortunes, and the ruin he was now come to, at such a rate, that I relished nothing now, as I did before, and the first reflections I made upon the horrid life I had lived began to return upon me; and as these things returned, my abhorrence of the place, and of the way of living in it, returned also; in a word, I was perfectly changed, and become another body.

While I was under these influences of sorrow for him, came notice to me that the next sessions there would be a bill preferred to the grand jury against me, and that I should be tried for my life. My temper was touched before, the wretched boldness of spirit which I had acquired abated, and conscious guilt began to flow in my mind. In short, I began to think, and to think indeed is one real advance from hell to heaven; all that hardened state and temper of soul, which I said so much of before, is but a deprivation of thought; he that is restored to his thinking, is restored to himself.

As soon as I began, I say, to think, the first thing that

occurred to me broke out thus; "Lord! what will become of me? I shall be cast, to be sure, and there is nothing beyond that, but death! I have no friends, what shall I do? I shall be certainly cast! Lord! have mercy upon me! what will become of me?" This was a sad thought, you will say, to be the first, after so long time, that had started in my soul of that kind, and yet even this was nothing but fright at what was to come; there was not a word of sincere repentance in it all. However, I was dreadfully dejected, and disconsolate to the last degree; and as I had no friend to communicate my distressed thoughts to, it lay so heavy upon me, that it threw me into fits and swoonings several times a day. I sent for my old governess, and she, give her her due, acted the part of a true friend; she left no stone unturned to prevent the grand jury finding the bill; she went to several of the jury-men, talked with them, and endeavoured to possess them with favourable dispositions, on account that nothing was taken away, and no house broken, &c.; but all would not do, the two wenches swore home to the fact, and the jury found the bill for robbery and housebreaking, that is, for felony and burglary.

I sunk down when they brought the news of it, and after I came to myself I thought I should have died with the weight of it. My governess acted a true mother to me; she pitied me, she cried with me, and for me; but she could not help me; and to add to the terror of it, 'twas the discourse all over the house, that I should die for it; I could hear them talk it among themselves very often; and see them shake their heads, and say they were sorry for it, and the like, as is usual in the place; but still nobody came to tell me their thoughts, till at last one of the keepers came to me privately, and said with a sigh, "Well, Mrs. Flanders, you will be tried a Friday" (this was but a Wednesday), "what do you intend to do?" I turned as white as a clout, and said, "God knows what I shall do, for my part I know not what to do." "Why," says he, "I won't flatter you, I would have you prepare for death, for I doubt you will be cast, and as you are an old offender, I doubt you will find but

little mercy. They say," added he, "your case is very plain, and that the witnesses swear so home against you, there will be no standing it."

This was a stab into the very vitals of one under such a burden, and I could not speak a word, good or bad, for a great while; at last I burst out into tears, and said to him, "O sir, what must I do?" "Do," says he, "send for a minister, and talk with him; for indeed, Mrs. Flanders, unless you have very good friends, you are no woman for this world."

This was plain dealing indeed, but it was very harsh to me, at least I thought it so. He left me in the greatest confusion imaginable, and all that night I lay awake; and now I began to say my prayers, which I had scarce done before since my last husband's death, or from a little while after; and truly I may well call it saying my prayers; for I was in such a confusion, and had such horror upon my mind, that though I cried, and repeated several times the ordinary expression of "Lord have mercy upon me!" I never brought myself to any sense of being a miserable sinner, as indeed I was, and of confessing my sins to God, and begging pardon for the sake of Jesus Christ; I was overwhelmed with the sense of my condition, being tried for my life, and being sure to be executed, and on this account I cried out all night, "Lord! what will become of me? Lord! what shall I do? Lord have mercy upon me!" and the like.

My poor afflicted governess was now as much concerned as I, and a great deal more truly penitent, though she had no prospect of being brought to a sentence; not but that she deserved it as much as I, and so she said herself; but she had not done anything for many years, other than receiving what I and others had stolen, and encouraging us to steal it. But she cried and took on, like a distracted body, wringing her hands, and crying out that she was undone, that she believed there was a curse from Heaven upon her, that she should be damned, that she had been the destruction of all her friends, that she brought such a one, and such a one, and such a one to the gallows; and there she

reckoned up ten or eleven people, some of which I have given an account of, that came to untimely ends, and that now she was the occasion of my ruin, for she had persuaded me to go on, when I would have left off. I interrupted her there; "No mother, no," said I, "don't speak of that, for you would have had me left off when I got the mercer's money again, and when I came home from Harwich, and I would not hearken to you; therefore you have not been to blame, it is I only have ruined myself, I have brought myself to this misery;" and thus we spent many hours together.

Well, there was no remedy, the prosecution went on, and on the Thursday I was carried down to the sessions-house, where I was arraigned, as they called it, and the next day I was appointed to be tried. At the arraignment I pleaded "Not guilty," and well I might, for I was indicted for felony and burglary; that is, for feloniously stealing two pieces of brocaded silk, value 46*l.*, the goods of Anthony Johnson, and for breaking open the doors; whereas I knew very well they could not pretend I had broken up the doors, or so much as lifted up a latch.

On the Friday I was brought to my trial. I had exhausted my spirits with crying for two or three days before, that I slept better the Thursday night than I expected, and had more courage for my trial than I thought possible for me to have.

When the trial began, and the indictment was read, I would have spoke, but they told me the witnesses must be heard first, and then I should have time to be heard. The witnesses were the two wenches, a couple of hard-mouthed jades indeed, for though the thing was truth in the main, yet they aggravated it to the utmost extremity, and swore I had the goods wholly in my possession, that I had hid them among my clothes, that I was going off with them, that I had one foot over the threshold when they discovered themselves, and then I put t'other over, so that I was quite out of the house in the street with the goods before they took me, and then they seized me, and took the goods upon me. The fact

in general was true, but I insisted upon it, that they stopped me before I had set my foot clear of the threshold: but that did not argue much, for I had taken the goods, and was bringing them away, if I had not been taken.

I pleaded that I had stole nothing, they had lost nothing, that the door was open, and I went in with design to buy: if, seeing nobody in the house, I had taken any of them up in my hand, it could not be concluded that I intended to steal them, for that I never carried them farther than the door, to look on them with the better light.

The court would not allow that by any means, and made a kind of a jest of my intending to buy the goods, that being no shop for the selling of anything; and as to carrying them to the door to look at them, the maids made their impudent mocks upon that, and spent their wit upon it very much; told the court I had looked at them sufficiently, and approved them very well, for I had packed them up, and was a going with them.

In short, I was found guilty of felony, but acquitted of the burglary, which was but small comfort to me, the first bringing me to a sentence of death, and the last would have done no more. The next day I was carried down to receive the dreadful sentence, and when they came to ask me what I had to say why sentence should not pass, I stood mute awhile, but somebody prompted me aloud to speak to the judges, for that they could represent things favourably for me. This encouraged me, and I told them I had nothing to say to stop the sentence; but that I had much to say to bespeak the mercy of the court; that I hoped they would allow something in such a case, for the circumstances of it, that I had broken no doors, had carried nothing off, that nobody had lost anything; that the person whose goods they were, was pleased to say he desired mercy might be shown (which, indeed, he very honestly did), that at the worst it was the first offence, and that I had never been before any court of justice before; and in a word, I spoke with more courage than I

thought I could have done, and in such a moving tone, and though with tears, yet not so many tears as to obstruct my speech, that I could see it moved others to tears that heard me.

The judges sat grave and mute, gave me an easy hearing, and time to say all that I would, but saying neither yes or no to it, pronounced the sentence of death upon me ; a sentence to me like death itself, which confounded me ; I had no more spirit left in me ; I had no tongue to speak, or eyes to look up either to God or man.

My poor governess was utterly disconsolate, and she that was my comforter before, wanted comfort now herself ; and sometimes mourning, sometimes raging, was as much out of herself as any mad woman in Bedlam. Nor was she only disconsolate as to me, but she was struck with horror at the sense of her own wicked life, and began to look back upon it with a taste quite different from mine ; for she was penitent to the highest degree for her sins, as well as sorrowful for misfortune. She sent for a minister too, a serious, pious, good man, and applied herself with such earnestness, by his assistance, to the work of a sincere repentance, that I believe, and so did the minister too, that she was a true penitent, and which is still more, she was not only so for the occasion, and at that juncture, but she continued so, as I was informed, to the day of her death.

It is rather to be thought of, than expressed, what was now my condition ; I had nothing before me but death ; and as I had no friends to assist me, I expected nothing but to find my name in the dead warrant, which was to come for the execution, next Friday, of five more and myself.

In the mean time my poor distressed governess sent me a minister, who at her request came to visit me. He exhorted me seriously to repent of all my sins, and to dally no longer with my soul ; not flattering myself with hopes of life, which he said, he was informed there was no room to expect, but unfeignedly to look up to God with my whole soul, and to cry for pardon in the

name of Jesus Christ. He backed his discourses with proper quotations of Scripture, encouraging the greatest sinner to repent, and turn from their evil way; and when he had done, he kneeled down and prayed with me.

It was now, that for the first time, I felt any real signs of repentance; I now began to look back upon my past life with abhorrence, and having a kind of view into the other side of time, the things of life, as I believe they do with everybody at such a time, began to look with a different aspect, and quite another shape, than they did before. The views of felicity, the joy, the griefs of life were quite other things; and I had nothing in my thoughts, but was so infinitely superior to what I had known in life, that it appeared to be the greatest stupidity to lay a weight upon anything, though the most valuable in this world.

The word eternity represented itself with all its incomprehensible additions, and I had such extended notions of it, that I know not how to express them. Among the rest, how absurd did every pleasant thing look! I mean, that we had counted pleasant before; when I reflected that these sordid trifles were the things for which we forfeited eternal felicity.

With these reflections came in of mere course, severe reproaches for my wretched behaviour in my past life; that I had forfeited all hope of happiness in the eternity that I was just going to enter into; and, on the contrary, was entitled to all that was miserable; and all this with the frightful addition of its being also eternal.

I am not capable of reading lectures of instruction to anybody, but I relate this in the very manner in which things then appeared to me, as far as I am able; but infinitely short of the lively impressions which they made on my soul at that time; indeed those impressions are not to be explained by words, or, if they are, I am not mistress of words to express them. It must be the work of every sober reader to make just reflections, as their own circumstances may direct; and this is what every one at some time or other may feel something of;

I mean, a clearer sight into things to come, than they had here, and a dark view of their own concern in them.

But I go back to my own case; the minister pressed me to tell him, as far as I thought convenient, in what state I found myself as to the sight I had of things beyond life; he told me he did not come as ordinary of the place, whose business it is to extort confessions from prisoners, for the farther detecting of other offenders; that his business was to move me to such freedom of discourse as might serve to disburden my own mind, and furnish him to administer comfort to me as far as was in his power; assured me, that whatever I said to him should remain with him, and be as much a secret as if it was known only to God and myself; and that he desired to know nothing of me, but to qualify him to give proper advice to me, and to pray to God for me.

This honest friendly way of treating me, unlocked all the sluices of my passions. He broke into my very soul by it; and I unravelled all the wickedness of my life to him. In a word, I gave him an abridgment of this whole history; I gave him the picture of my conduct for fifty years in miniature.

I hid nothing from him, and he in return exhorted me to a sincere repentance, explained to me what he meant by repentance, and then drew out such a scheme of infinite mercy, proclaimed from Heaven to sinners of the greatest magnitude, that he left me nothing to say, that looked like despair, or doubting of being accepted; and in this condition he left me the first night.

He visited me again the next morning, and went on with his method of explaining the terms of divine mercy, which according to him consisted of nothing more difficult than that of being sincerely desirous of it, and willing to accept it; only a sincere regret for, and hatred of, those things which rendered me so just an object of divine vengeance. I am not able to repeat the excellent discourses of this extraordinary man; all that I am able to do, is to say, that he revived my heart, and brought me into such a condition, that I never

knew anything of in my life before. I was covered with shame and tears for things past, and yet had at the same time a secret surprising joy at the prospect of being a true penitent, and obtaining the comfort of a penitent, I mean the hope of being forgiven ; and so swift did thoughts circulate, and so high did the impressions they had made upon me run, that I thought I could freely have gone out that minute to execution, without any uneasiness at all, casting my soul entirely into the arms of infinite mercy as a penitent.

The good gentleman was so moved with a view of the influence which he saw these things had on me, that he blessed God he had come to visit me, and resolved not to leave me till the last moment.

It was no less than twelve days after our receiving sentence, before any were ordered for execution, and then the dead warrant, as they call it, came down, and I found my name was among them. A terrible blow this was to my new resolutions ; indeed my heart sunk within me, and I swooned away twice, one after another, but spoke not a word. The good minister was sorely afflicted for me, and did what he could to comfort me, with the same arguments, and the same moving eloquence that he did before, and left me not that evening so long as the prison-keepers would suffer him to stay in the prison, unless he would be locked up with me all night, which he was not willing to be.

I wondered much that I did not see him all the next day, it being but the day before the time appointed for execution ; and I was greatly discouraged and dejected, and indeed almost sunk for want of that comfort, which he had so often, and with such success, yielded me in his former visits ; I waited with great impatience, and under the greatest oppressions of spirits imaginable till about four o'clock, when he came to my apartment ; for I had obtained the favour, by the help of money, nothing being to be done in that place without it, not to be kept in the condemned hole, among the rest of the prisoners who were to die, but to have a little dirty chamber to myself.

My heart leaped within me for joy, when I heard his voice at the door, even before I saw him; but let any one judge what kind of motion I found in my soul, when, after having made a short excuse for his not coming, he showed me that his time had been employed on my account, that he had obtained a favourable report from the recorder in my case, and in short that he had brought me a reprieve.

ROXANA

In Roxana, one of the dullest of Defoe's romances, we are again treated with a discussion of the dangers arising, firstly, from a want of industry, and, secondly, from a want of wisdom and elasticity in the Poor Law. In the opening chapters of Roxana, Defoe seems to have wished to present the picture of a kind of domestic tragedy which must have been common enough, in the days before the passing of the Married Women's Property Act. In the later chapters, from which we do not quote, he traces her various fortune (ranging from the tawdry to the squalid) from the time of her husband's desertion to her death in a debtor's jail.

I WAS born, as my friends told me, at the city of Poictiers, in the province or county of Poictou, in France, from whence I was brought to England by my parents, who fled for their religion about the year 1683, when the protestants were banished from France by the cruelty of their persecutors.

I, who knew little or nothing of what I was brought over hither for, was well enough pleased with being here. London, a large and gay city, took with me mighty well, who, from my being a child, loved a crowd, and to see a great many fine folks.

I retained nothing of France but the language, my father and mother being people of better fashion than ordinarily the people called refugees at that time were; and having fled early, while it was easy to secure their effects, had, before their coming over, remitted considerable sums of money, or, as I remember, a considerable value in French brandy, paper, and other goods; and these selling very much to advantage here, my father was in very good circumstances at his coming over, so that he was far from applying to the rest of

our nation that were here for countenance and relief. On the contrary, he had his door continually thronged with miserable objects of the poor starving creatures who at that time fled hither for shelter on account of conscience or something else.

I have, indeed, heard my father say that he was pestered with a great many of those who, for any religion they had, might e'en have stayed where they were, but who flocked over hither in droves, for what they call in English, a livelihood; hearing with what open arms the refugees were received in England, and how they fell readily into business, being, by the charitable assistance of the people in London, encouraged to work in their manufactures in Spitalfields, Canterbury, and other places, and that they had a much better price for their work than in France, and the like.

My father, I say, told me that he was more pestered with the clamours of these people than of those who were truly refugees, and fled in distress merely for conscience.

I was about ten years old when I was brought over hither, where, as I have said, my father lived in very good circumstances, and died in about eleven years more; in which time, as I had accomplished myself for the sociable part of the world, so I had acquainted myself with some of our English neighbours, as is the custom in London; and as, while I was young, I had picked up three or four playfellows and companions suitable to my years, so, as we grew bigger, we learnt to call one another intimates and friends; and this forwarded very much the finishing me for conversation and the world.

I went to English schools, and being young, I learnt the English tongue perfectly well, with all the customs of the English young women; so that I retained nothing of the French but the speech; nor did I so much as keep any remains of the French language tagged to my way of speaking, as most foreigners do, but spoke what we call natural English, as if I had been born here.

Being to give my own character, I must be excused to give it as impartially as possible, and as if I was

speaking of another body ; and the sequel will lead you to judge whether I flatter myself or no.

I was (speaking of myself as about fourteen years of age) tall, and very well made ; sharp as a hawk in matters of common knowledge ; quick and smart in discourse ; apt to be satirical ; full of repartee, and a little too forward in conversation ; or, as we call it in English, bold, though perfectly modest in my behaviour. Being French born, I danced, as some say, naturally, loved it extremely, and sung well also, and so well that, as you will hear, it was afterwards some advantage to me. With all these things, I wanted neither wit, beauty, or money. In this manner I set out into the world, having all the advantages that any young woman could desire, to recommend me to others, and form a prospect of happy living to myself.

At about fifteen years of age my father gave me, as he called it in French, 25,000 livres, that is to say, two thousand pounds portion, and married me to an eminent brewer in the city. Pardon me if I conceal his name, for though he was the foundation of my ruin, I cannot take so severe a revenge upon him.

With this thing called a husband I lived eight years in good fashion, and for some part of the time kept a coach, that is to say, a kind of mock coach ; for all the week the horses were kept at work in the dray-carts, but on Sunday I had the privilege to go abroad in my chariot, either to church or otherways, as my husband and I could agree about it, which, by the way, was not very often ; but of that hereafter.

Before I proceed in the history of the married part of my life, you must allow me to give as impartial an account of my husband as I have done of myself. He was a jolly, handsome fellow as any woman need wish for a companion ; tall and well made ; rather a little too large, but not so as to be ungenteel ; he danced well, which I think was the first thing that brought us together. He had an old father who managed the business carefully, so that he had little of that part lay on him, but now and then to appear and show himself ;

and he took the advantage of it, for he troubled himself very little about it, but went abroad, kept company, hunted much, and loved it exceedingly.

After I have told you that he was a handsome man and a good sportsman, I have indeed said all; and unhappy was I. Like other young people of our sex, I chose him for being a handsome jolly fellow, as I have said; for he was otherwise a weak, empty-headed, untaught creature, as any woman could ever desire to be coupled with. And here I must take the liberty, whatever I have to reproach myself with in my after conduct, to turn to my fellow-creatures, the young ladies of this country, and speak to them by way of precaution. If you have any regard to your future happiness; any view of living comfortably with a husband; any hope of preserving your fortunes, or restoring them after any disaster, never, ladies, marry a fool; any husband rather than a fool; with some other husbands you may be unhappy, but with a fool you will be miserable; with another husband you *may*, I say, be unhappy, but with a fool you *must;* nay, if he would, he cannot make you easy; everything he does is so awkward, everything he says is so empty, a woman of any sense cannot but be surfeited and sick of him twenty times a day. What is more shocking than for a woman to bring a handsome, comely fellow of a husband into company, and then be obliged to blush for him every time she hears him speak? To hear other gentlemen talk sense, and he able to say nothing? And so look like a fool, or, which is worse, hear him talk nonsense, and be laughed at for a fool.

In the next place, there are so many sorts of fools, such an infinite variety of fools, and so hard it is to know the worst of the kind, that I am obliged to say, "No fool, ladies, at all, no kind of fool, whether a mad fool or a sober fool, a wise fool or a silly fool; take anything but a fool; nay, be anything, be even an old maid, the worst of nature's curses, rather than take up with a fool."

But to leave this awhile, for I shall have occasion to

speak of it again; my case was particularly hard, for I had a variety of foolish things complicated in this unhappy match.

First, and which I must confess is very unsufferable, he was a conceited fool, *tout opiniâtre;* everything he said was right, was best, and was to the purpose, whoever was in company, and whatever was advanced by others, though with the greatest modesty imaginable; and yet when he came to defend what he had said by argument and reason, he would do it so weakly, so emptily, and so nothing to the purpose, that it was enough to make anybody that heard him sick and ashamed of him.

Secondly, he was positive and obstinate, and the most positive in the most simple and inconsistent things, such as were intolerable to bear.

These two articles, if there had been no more, qualified him to be a most unbearable creature for a husband; and so it may be supposed, at first sight, what a kind of life I led with him. However, I did as well as I could, and held my tongue, which was the only victory I gained over him; for when he would talk after his own empty rattling way with me, and I would not answer, or enter into discourse with him on the point he was upon, he would rise up in the greatest passion imaginable, and go away, which was the cheapest way I had to be delivered.

I could enlarge here much upon the method I took to make my life passable and easy with the most incorrigible temper in the world; but it is too long, and the articles too trifling: I shall mention some of them as the circumstances I am to relate shall necessarily bring them in.

After I had been married about four years, my own father died, my mother having been dead before. He liked my match so ill, and saw so little room to be satisfied with the conduct of my husband, that though he left me five thousand livres, and more, at his death, yet he left it in the hands of my elder brother, who, running on too rashly in his adventures as a merchant,

failed, and lost not only what he had, but what he had for me too, as you shall hear presently.

Thus I lost the last gift of my father's bounty by having a husband not fit to be trusted with it: there's one of the benefits of marrying a fool.

Within two years after my own father's death, my husband's father also died; and, as I thought, left him a considerable addition to his estate, the whole trade of the brewhouse, which was a very good one, being now his own.

But this addition to his stock was his ruin, for he had no genius to business; he had no knowledge of his accounts; he bustled a little about it, indeed, at first, and put on a face of business, but he soon grew slack; it was below him to inspect his books, he committed all that to his clerks and book-keepers; and while he found money in cash to pay the malt-man and the excise, and put some in his pocket, he was perfectly easy and indolent, let the main chance go how it would.

I foresaw the consequence of this, and attempted several times to persuade him to apply himself to his business; I put him in mind how his customers complained of the neglect of his servants on one hand, and how abundance broke in his debt, on the other hand, for want of the clerk's care to secure him, and the like; but he thrust me by, either with hard words, or fraudulently, with representing the cases otherwise than they were.

However, to cut short a dull story, which ought not to be long, he began to find his trade sunk, his stock declined, and that, in short, he could not carry on his business, and once or twice his brewing utensils were extended for the excise; and, the last time, he was put to great extremities to clear them.

This alarmed him, and he resolved to lay down his trade, which, indeed, I was not sorry for; foreseeing that if he did not lay it down in time, he would be forced to do it another way, namely, as a bankrupt. Also I was willing he should draw out while he had something left, lest I should come to be stripped at home,

and be turned out of doors with my children; for I had now five children by him, the only work (perhaps) that fools are good for.

I thought myself happy when he got another man to take his brewhouse clear off of his hands; for, paying down a large sum of money, my husband found himself a clear man, all his debts paid, and with between two and three thousand pounds in his pocket; and being now obliged to remove from the brewhouse, we took a house at ——, a village about two miles out of town; and happy I thought myself, all things considered, that I was got off clear, upon so good terms; and had my handsome fellow had but one capful of wit, I had been still well enough.

I proposed to him either to buy some place with the money, or with part of it, and offered to join my part to it, which was then in being, and might have been secured; so we might have lived tolerably, at least during his life. But as it is the part of a fool to be void of counsel, so he neglected it, lived on as he did before, kept his horses and men, rid every day out to the forest a hunting, and nothing was done all this while; but the money decreased apace, and I thought I saw my ruin hastening on, without any possible way to prevent it.

I was not wanting with all that persuasions and entreaties could perform, but it was all fruitless; representing to him how fast our money wasted, and what would be our condition when it was gone, made no impression on him; but like one stupid, he went on, not valuing all that tears and lamentations could be supposed to do; nor did he abate his figure or equipage, his horses or servants, even to the last, till he had not a hundred pound left in the whole world.

It was not above three years that all the ready money was thus spending off; yet he spent it, as I may say, foolishly too, for he kept no valuable company neither, but generally with huntsmen, and horse-coursers, and men meaner than himself, which is another consequence of a man's being a fool; such can never take delight in men more wise and capable than themselves, and that

makes them converse with scoundrels, drink belch with porters, and keep company always below themselves.

This was my wretched condition, when one morning my husband told me he was sensible he was come to a miserable condition, and he would go and seek his fortune somewhere or other. He had said something to that purpose several times before that, upon my pressing him to consider his circumstances, and the circumstances of his family, before it should be too late; but as I found he had no meaning in anything of that kind, as, indeed, he had not much in anything he ever said, so I thought they were but words of course now. When he had said he would be gone, I used to wish secretly, and even say in my thoughts, "I wish you would, for if you go on thus, you will starve us all."

He stayed, however, at home all that day, and lay at home that night; early the next morning he gets out of bed, goes to a window which looked out towards the stables, and sounds his French horn, as he called it, which was his usual signal to call his men to go out a hunting.

It was about the latter end of August, and so was light yet at five o'clock, and it was about that time that I heard him and his two men go out and shut the yard gates after them. He said nothing to me more than as usual when he used to go out upon his sport; neither did I rise, or say anything to him that was material, but went to sleep again after he was gone, for two hours or thereabouts.

It must be a little surprising to the reader to tell him at once, that after this, I never saw my husband more; but to go farther, I not only never saw him more, but I never heard from him, or of him, neither of any or either of his two servants, or of the horses, either what became of them, where or which way they went, or what they did, or intended to do, no more than if the ground had opened and swallowed them all up, and nobody had known it except as hereafter.

I was not, for the first night or two, at all surprised, no, nor very much the first week or two, believing that

if anything evil had befallen them, I should soon enough have heard of that; and also knowing, that as he had two servants and three horses with him, it would be the strangest thing in the world that anything could befall them all but that I must some time or other hear of them.

But you will easily allow, that as time run on, a week, two weeks, a month, two months, and so on, I was dreadfully frighted at last, and the more when I looked into my own circumstances, and considered the condition in which I was left, with five children, and not one farthing subsistence for them, other than about seventy pound in money, and what few things of value I had about me, which, though considerable in themselves, were yet nothing to feed a family, and for a length of time too.

What to do I knew not, nor to whom to have recourse; to keep in the house where I was, I could not, the rent being too great; and to leave it without his order, if my husband should return, I could not think of that neither; so that I continued extremely perplexed, melancholy, and discouraged to the last degree.

I remained in this dejected condition near a twelvemonth. My husband had two sisters, who were married, and lived very well, and some other near relations that I knew of, and I hoped would do something for me; and I frequently sent to these, to know if they could give me any account of my vagrant creature; but they all declared to me in answer, that they knew nothing about him; and after frequent sending, began to think me troublesome, and to let me know they thought so too, by their treating my maid with very slight and unhandsome returns to her inquiries.

This grated hard, and added to my affliction, but I had no recourse but to my tears, for I had not a friend of my own left me in the world. I should have observed, that it was about half a year before this elopement of my husband, that the disaster I mentioned above befell my brother, who broke, and that in such bad circumstances, that I had the mortification to hear

not only that he was in prison, but that there would be little or nothing to be had by way of composition.

Misfortunes seldom come alone: this was the forerunner of my husband's flight; and as my expectations were cut off on that side, my husband gone, and my family of children on my hands, and nothing to subsist them, my condition was the most deplorable that words can express.

I had some plate and some jewels, as might be supposed, my fortune and former circumstances considered; and my husband, who had never stayed to be distressed, had not been put to the necessity of rifling me, as husbands usually do in such cases. But as I had seen an end of all the ready money during the long time I had lived in a state of expectation for my husband, so I began to make away one thing after another, till those few things of value which I had began to lessen apace, and I saw nothing but misery and the utmost distress before me, even to have my children starve before my face. I leave any one that is a mother of children, and has lived in plenty and good fashion, to consider and reflect what must be my condition. As to my husband, I had now no hope or expectation of seeing him any more; and indeed, if I had, he was the man, of all the men in the world, the least able to help me, or to have turned his hand to the gaining one shilling towards lessening our distress; he neither had the capacity or the inclination; he could have been no clerk, for he scarce wrote a legible hand; he was so far from being able to write sense, that he could not make sense of what others wrote; he was so far from understanding good English, that he could not spell good English; to be out of all business was his delight, and he would stand leaning against a post for half an hour together, with a pipe in his mouth, with all the tranquillity in the world, smoking, like Dryden's countryman, that "whistled as he went for want of thought," and this even when his family was, as it were, starving, that little he had wasting, and that we were all bleeding to death; he not knowing, and as little considering,

where to get another shilling when the last was spent.

This being his temper, and the extent of his capacity, I confess I did not see so much loss at his parting with me as at first I thought I did; though it was hard and cruel to the last degree in him, not giving me the least notice of his design; and indeed that which I was most astonished at was, that seeing he must certainly have intended this excursion some few moments at least before he put it in practice, yet he did not come and take what little stock of money we had left, or at least a share of it, to bear his expense for a little while, but he did not; and I am morally certain he had not five guineas with him in the world when he went away. All that I could come to the knowledge of about him was, that he left his hunting-horn, which he called the French horn, in the stable, and his hunting-saddle, went away in a handsome furniture, as they call it, which he used sometimes to travel with, having an embroidered housing, a case of pistols, and other things belonging to them; and one of his servants had another saddle with pistols, though plain, and the other a long gun, so that they did not go out as sportsmen, but rather as travellers; what part of the world they went to I never heard for many years.

As I have said, I sent to his relations, but they sent me short and surly answers; nor did any one of them offer to come to see me, or to see the children, or so much as to inquire after them, well perceiving that I was in a condition that was likely to be soon troublesome to them; but it was no time now to dally with them, or with the world; I left off sending to them, and went myself among them, laid my circumstances open to them, told them my whole case, and the condition I was reduced to, begged they would advise me what course to take, laid myself as low as they could desire, and entreated them to consider that I was not in a condition to help myself, and that without some assistance we must all inevitably perish. I told them, that if I had had but one child, or two children, I

would have done my endeavour to have worked for them with my needle, and should only have come to them to beg them to help me to some work, that I might get our bread by my labour; but to think of one single woman, not bred to work, and at a loss where to get employment, to get the bread of five children, that was not possible, some of my children being young too, and none of them big enough to help one another.

It was all one; I received not one farthing of assistance from anybody, was hardly asked to sit down at the two sisters' houses, nor offered to eat or drink at two more near relations. The fifth, an ancient gentlewoman, aunt-in-law-to my husband, a widow, and the least able also of any of the rest, did, indeed, ask me to sit down, gave me a dinner, and refreshed me with a kinder treatment than any of the rest, but added the melancholy part, viz., that she would have helped me, but that indeed, she was not able, which, however, I was satisfied was very true.

Here I relieved myself with the constant assistant of the afflicted, I mean tears, for, relating to her how I was received by the other of my husband's relations, it made me burst into tears, and I cried vehemently for a great while together, till I made the good old gentlewoman cry too several times.

However, I came home from them all without any relief, and went on at home till I was reduced to such inexpressible distress that it is not to be described. I had been several times after this at the old aunt's, for I prevailed with her to promise me to go and talk with the other relations, at least, that, if possible, she could bring some of them to take off the children, or to contribute something towards their maintenance; and, to do her justice, she did use her endeavour with them, but all was to no purpose, they would do nothing, at least that way. I think, with much entreaty, she obtained, by a kind of collection among them all, about eleven or twelve shillings in money, which though it was a present comfort, was yet not to be named as capable to deliver me from any part of the load that lay upon me.

There was a poor woman that had been a kind of a dependant upon our family, and who I had often, among the rest of the relations, been very kind to; my maid put it into my head one morning to send to this poor woman, and to see whether she might not be able to help in this dreadful case.

I must remember it here, to the praise of this poor girl, my maid, that though I was not able to give her any wages, and had told her so, nay, I was not able to pay her the wages that I was in arrears to her, yet she would not leave me; nay, and as long as she had any money, when I had none, she would help me out of her own; for which, though I acknowledged her kindness and fidelity, yet it was but a bad coin that she was paid in at last, as will appear in its place.

Amy (for that was her name) put it into my thoughts to send for this poor woman to come to me, for I was now in great distress, and I resolved to do so; but just the very morning that I intended it, the old aunt, with the poor woman in her company, came to see me; the good old gentlewoman was, it seems, heartily concerned for me, and had been talking again among those people, to see what she could do for me, but to very little purpose.

You shall judge a little of my present distress by the posture she found me in: I had five little children, the eldest was under ten years old, and I had not one shilling in the house to buy them victuals, but had sent Amy out with a silver spoon to sell it, and bring home something from the butcher's; and I was in a parlour, sitting on the ground, with a great heap of old rags, linen, and other things about me, looking them over, to see if I had anything among them that would sell or pawn for a little money, and had been crying ready to burst myself, to think what I should do next.

At this juncture, they knocked at the door; I thought it had been Amy, so I did not rise up, but one of the children opened the door, and they came directly into the room where I was, and where they found me in that posture, and crying vehemently, as above. I was

surprised at their coming, you may be sure, especially seeing the person I had but just before resolved to send for; but when they saw me, how I looked, for my eyes were swelled with crying, and what a condition I was in as to the house, and the heaps of things that were about me, and especially when I told them what I was doing, and on what occasion, they sat down, like Job's three comforters, and said not one word to me for a great while, but both of them cried as fast and as heartily as I did.

The truth was, there was no need of much discourse in the case, the thing spoke itself, they saw me in rags and dirt, who was but a little before riding in my coach; thin, and looking almost like one starved, who was before fat and beautiful. The house, that was before handsomely furnished with pictures and ornaments, cabinets, pier-glasses, and everything suitable, was now stripped and naked, most of the goods having been seized by the landlord for rent, or sold to buy necessaries; in a word, all was misery and distress, the face of ruin was everywhere to be seen; we had eaten up almost everything, and little remained, unless, like one of the pitiful women of Jerusalem, I should eat up my very children themselves.

After these two good creatures had sat, as I say, in silence some time, and had then looked about them, my maid Amy came in, and brought with her a small breast of mutton and two great bunches of turnips, which she intended to stew for our dinner. As for me, my heart was so overwhelmed at seeing these two friends, for such they were, though poor, and at their seeing me in such a condition, that I fell into another violent fit of crying, so that in short I could not speak to them again for a great while longer.

During my being in such an agony, they went to my maid Amy at another part of the same room, and talked with her. Amy told them all my circumstances, and set them forth in such moving terms, and so to the life, that I could not upon any terms have done it like her myself, and, in a word, affected them both with it in such a

manner, that the old aunt came to me, and though hardly able to speak for tears, "Look ye, cousin," said she, in a few words; "things must not stand thus, some course must be taken, and that forthwith; pray where were these children born?" I told her the parish where we lived before, that four of them were born there, and one in the house where I now was, where the landlord, after having seized my goods for the rent past, not then knowing my circumstances, had now given me leave to live for a whole year more without any rent, being moved with compassion; but that this year was now almost expired.

Upon hearing this account, they came to this resolution: that the children should be all carried by them to the door of one of the relations mentioned above, and be set down there by the maid Amy, and that I, the mother, should remove for some days, shut up the doors, and be gone: that the people should be told, that if they did not think fit to take some care of the children, they might send for the churchwardens, if they thought that better, for that they were born in that parish, and there they must be provided for; as for the other child, which was born in the parish of ——, that was already taken care of by the parish officers there, for indeed they were so sensible of the distress of the family that they had at first word done what was their part to do.

This was what these good women proposed, and bade me leave the rest to them. I was at first sadly afflicted at the thoughts of parting with my children, and especially at that terrible thing, their being taken into the parish keeping; and then a hundred terrible things came into my thoughts, viz., of parish children being starved at nurse; of their being ruined, let grow crooked, lamed, and the like, for want of being taken care of; and this sunk my very heart within me.

But the misery of my own circumstances hardened my heart against my own flesh and blood; and when I considered they must inevitably be starved, and I too, if I continued to keep them about me, I began to be reconciled to parting with them all, anyhow, and any-

where, that I might be freed from the dreadful necessity of seeing them all perish, and perishing with them myself; so I agreed to go away out of the house, and leave the management of the whole matter to my maid Amy and to them, and accordingly I did so; and the same afternoon they carried them all away to one of their aunts.

Amy, a resolute girl, knocked at the door, with the children all with her, and bade the eldest, as soon as the door was open, run in, and the rest after her. She set them all down at the door before she knocked, and when she knocked she stayed till a maid-servant came to the door; "Sweetheart," said she, "pray go in and tell your mistress here are her little cousins come to see her from ——," naming the town where we lived, at which the maid offered to go back. "Here, child," says Amy, "take one of 'em in your hand, and I'll bring the rest;" so she gives her the least, and the wench goes in mighty innocently, with the little one in her hand, upon which Amy turns the rest in after her, shuts the door softly, and marches off as fast as she could.

Just in the interval of this, and even while the maid and her mistress were quarrelling (for the mistress raved and scolded at her like a mad woman, and had ordered her to go and stop the maid Amy, and turn all the children out of the doors again; but she had been at the door, and Amy was gone, and the wench was out of her wits, and the mistress too), I say, just at this juncture, came the poor old woman, not the aunt, but the other of the two that had been with me, and knocks at the door; the aunt did not go, because she had pretended to advocate for me, and they would have suspected her of some contrivance; but as for the other woman, they did not so much as know that she had kept up any correspondence with me.

Amy and she had concerted this between them, and it was well enough contrived that they did so. When she came into the house, the mistress was fuming and raging like one distracted, and called the maid all the foolish jades and sluts that she could think of, and that she would

take the children and turn them all out into the streets. The good poor woman, seeing her in such a passion, turned about as if she would be gone again, and said, "Madam, I'll come again another time, I see you are engaged." "No, no, Mrs. ——," says the mistress, "I am not much engaged, sit down; this senseless creature here has brought in my fool of a brother's whole house of children upon me, and tells me that a wench brought them to the door, and thrust them in, and bade her carry them to me; but it shall be no disturbance to me, for I have ordered them to be set in the street without the door, and so let the church-wardens take care of them, or else make this dull jade carry 'em back to —— again, and let her that brought them into the world look after them if she will; what does she send her brats to me for?"

"The last indeed had been the best of the two," says the poor woman, "if it had been to be done; and that brings me to tell you my errand, and the occasion of my coming, for I came on purpose about this very business, and to have prevented this being put upon you, if I could, but I see I am come too late."

"How do you mean too late?" says the mistress; "What! have you been concerned in this affair then? What! have you helped bring this family slur upon us?" "I hope you do not think such a thing of me, madam," says the poor woman, "but I went this morning to ——, to see my old mistress and benefactor, for she had been very kind to me, and when I came to the door, I found all fast locked and bolted, and the house looking as if nobody was at home.

"I knocked at the door, but nobody came, till at last some of the neighbours' servants called to me, and said, 'There's nobody lives there, mistress; what do you knock for?' I seemed surprised at that. 'What, nobody live there!' said I; 'what d'ye mean? Does not Mrs. —— live there?' The answer was, 'No, she is gone'; at which I parleyed with one of them, and asked her what was the matter. 'Matter!' says she, 'why, 'tis matter enough: the poor gentlewoman has lived

there all alone, and without anything to subsist her a long time, and this morning the landlord turned her out of doors.'

"'Out of doors!' says I; 'what! with all her children? Poor lambs, what is become of them?' 'Why, truly, nothing worse,' said they, 'can come to them than staying here, for they were almost starved with hunger;' so the neighbours, seeing the poor lady in such distress, for she stood crying and wringing her hands over her children like one distracted, sent for the churchwardens to take care of the children; and they, when they came, took the youngest, which was born in this parish, and have got it a very good nurse, and taken care of it; but as for the other four, they had sent them away to some of their father's relations, and who were very substantial people, and who, besides that, lived in the parish where they were born.

"I was not so surprised at this as not presently to foresee that this trouble would be brought upon you, or upon Mr. ——; so I came immediately to bring you word of it, that you might be prepared for it, and might not be surprised, but I see they have been too nimble for me, so that I know not what to advise. The poor woman, it seems, is turned out of doors into the street; and another of the neighbours there told me, that when they took her children from her, she swooned away, and when they recovered her out of that, she run distracted, and is put into a madhouse by the parish, for there is nobody else to take any care of her."

This was all acted to the life by this good, kind, poor creature; for though her design was perfectly good and charitable, yet there was not one word of it true in fact: for I was not turned out of doors by the landlord, nor gone distracted. It was true, indeed, that at parting with my poor children I fainted, and was like one mad when I came to myself and found they were gone; but I remained in the house a good while after that, as you shall hear.

While the poor woman was telling this dismal story, in came the gentlewoman's husband, and though her

heart was hardened against all pity, who was really and nearly related to the children, for they were the children of her own brother, yet the good man was quite softened with the dismal relation of the circumstances of the family; and when the poor woman had done, he said to his wife, "This is a dismal case, my dear, indeed, and something must be done." His wife fell a-raving at him: "What," says she, "do you want to have four children to keep? Have we not children of our own? Would you have these brats come and eat up my children's bread? No, no, let 'em go to the parish, and let them take care of them; I'll take care of my own."

"Come, come, my dear," says the husband, "charity is a duty to the poor, and he that gives to the poor lends to the Lord; let us lend our heavenly Father a little of our children's bread as you call it; it will be a store well laid up for them, and will be the best security that our children shall never come to want charity, or be turned out of doors, as these poor innocent creatures are." "Don't tell me of security," says the wife, "'tis a good security for our children to keep what we have together, and provide for them, and then 'tis time enough to help keep other folks' children. Charity begins at home."

"Well, my dear," says he again, "I only talk of putting out a little money to interest: our Maker is a good borrower: never fear making a bad debt there, child; I'll be bound for it."

"Don't banter me with your charity, and your allegories," says the wife, angrily; "I tell you they are my relations, not yours, and they shall not roost here; they shall go to the parish."

"All your relations are my relations now," says the good gentleman very calmly, "and I won't see your relations in distress, and not pity them, any more than I would my own; indeed, my dear, they shan't go to the parish. I assure you, none of my wife's relations shall come to the parish, if I can help it."

"What! will you take four children to keep?" says the wife.

"No, no, my dear," says he, "there's your sister——,

I'll go and talk with her; and your uncle ——, I'll send for him and the rest. I'll warrant you, when we are all together, we will find ways and means to keep four poor little creatures from beggary and starving, or else it will be very hard; we are none of us in so bad circumstances, but we are able to spare a mite for the fatherless. Don't shut up your bowels of compassion against your own flesh and blood. Could you hear these poor innocent children cry at your door for hunger, and give them no bread?"

"Prithee, what need they cry at our door?" says she; "'tis the business of the parish to provide for them; they shan't cry at our door. If they do, I'll give them nothing." "Won't you?" says he; "but I will. Remember that dreadful Scripture is directly against us, Prov. xxi. 13, *Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.*"

"Well, well," says she, "you must do what you will, because you pretend to be master: but if I had my will, I would send them where they ought to be sent. I would send them from whence they came."

Then the poor woman put in, and said, "But, madam, that is sending them to starve, indeed; for the parish has no obligation to take care of 'em, and so they would lie and perish in the street."

"Or be sent back again," says the husband, "to our parish in a cripple-cart, by the justice's warrant, and so expose us and all the relations to the last degree among our neighbours, and among those who knew the good old gentleman their grandfather, who lived and flourished in this parish so many years, and was so well beloved among all people, and deserved it so well."

"I don't value that one farthing, not I," says the wife; "I'll keep none of them."

"Well, my dear," says her husband, "but I value it, for I won't have such a blot lie upon the family, and upon your children; he was a worthy, ancient, and good man, and his name is respected among all his neighbours; it will be a reproach to you, that are his daughter, and to our children, that are his grandchildren, that we

should let your brother's children perish, or come to be a charge to the public, in the very place where your family once flourished. Come, say no more: I'll see what can be done."

Upon this he sends and gathers all the relations together at a tavern hard by, and sent for the four little children, that they might see them; and they all, at first word, agreed to have them taken care of; and, because his wife was so furious that she would not suffer one of them to be kept at home, they agreed to keep them all together for awhile; so they committed them to the poor woman that had managed the affair for them, and entered into obligations to one another to supply the needful sums for their maintenance; and, not to have one separated from the rest, they sent for the youngest from the parish where it was taken in, and had them all brought up together.

A JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR

I

This wonderful piece of sustained invention was written at a season when the plague was expected in London. It has been held by some that Defoe founded his tale on a journal or diary of the time of the Great Plague. Defoe was alive and perhaps in London in the Plague Year. During his youth, he must, in any case, have heard much about the sickness. The History should be read as fiction. It is now thought that it much exaggerates the epidemic.

It was about the beginning of September, 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither they say, it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it come; but all agreed it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things, and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as these were gathered from the letters of merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation, as they do now. But it seems that the government had a true account of it,

and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private. Hence it was that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concerned in, and that we hoped was not true; till the latter end of November, or the beginning of December, 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long Acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury Lane. The family they were in, endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible; but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the secretaries of state gat knowledge of it. And concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house, and make inspection. This they did; and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly, that they died of the plague. Whereupon it was given in to the parish clerk, and he also returned them to the hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus:

PLAGUE, 2. PARISHES INFECTED, 1

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December, 1664, another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper: and then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish, and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town; and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town; and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as possible.

This possessed the heads of the people very much, and few cared to go through Drury Lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business, that obliged them to it.

This increase of the bills stood thus; the usual number of burials in a week, in the parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, were from twelve to seventeen or nineteen each, few more or less; but from the time that the plague first began in St. Giles's parish, it was observed that the ordinary burials increased in number considerably. For example:

From Dec. 27 to Jan. 3,	St. Giles's	16
	St. Andrew's	17
Jan. 3 to Jan. 10,	St. Giles's	12
	St. Andrew's	25
Jan. 10 to Jan. 17,	St. Giles's	18
	St. Andrew's	18
Jan. 17 to Jan. 24,	St. Giles's	23
	St. Andrew's	16
Jan. 24 to Jan. 31,	St. Giles's	24
	St. Andrew's	15
Jan. 31 to Feb. 7,	St. Giles's	21
	St. Andrew's	23
Feb. 7 to Feb. 14,	St. Giles's	24
whereof one of the plague.		

The like increase of the bills was observed in the parishes of St. Bride's, adjoining on one side of Holborn parish, and in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell, adjoining on the other side of Holborn; in both which parishes the usual numbers that died weekly, were from four to six or eight, whereas at that time they were increased as follows:

From Dec. 20 to Dec. 27,	St. Bride's	0
	St. James's	8
Dec. 27 to Jan. 3,	St. Bride's	6
	St. James's	9
Jan. 3 to Jan. 10,	St. Bride's	11
	St. James's	7

From Jan. 10 to Jan. 17,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James's	9
Jan. 17 to Jan. 24,	St. Bride's	9
	St. James's	15
Jan. 24 to Jan. 31,	St. Bride's	8
	St. James's	12
Jan. 31 to Feb. 7,	St. Bride's	13
	St. James's	5
Feb. 7 to Feb. 14,	St. Bride's	12
	St. James's	6

Besides this, it was observed with great uneasiness by the people, that the weekly bills in general increased very much during these weeks, although it was at a time of the year when usually the bills are very moderate.

The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week, was from about two hundred and forty, or thereabouts, to three hundred. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing, as follows:

		Increased.
December 20, to the 27th, Buried	291	
27, to the 3rd Jan.,	349	58
January 3, to the 10th,	394	45
10, to the 17th,	415	21
17, to the 24th,	474	59

This last bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week, since the preceding visitation of 1656.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high. From the beginning of April, especially, they stood at twenty-five each week, till the week from

the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof two of the plague, and eight of the spotted fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand: however, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again, the bills were low, the number of the dead in all was but 388, there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz., St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement's-Danes, and, to the great affliction of the city, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary-Wool-Church, that is to say, in Bearbinder-Lane, near the Stocks-market; in all there was nine of the plague, and six of the spotted fever. It was, however, upon inquiry, found, that this Frenchman who died in Bearbinder-Lane, was one who, having lived in Long Acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes: that which encouraged them was, that the city was healthy, the whole ninety-seven parishes buried but fifty-four, and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no farther; and the rather, because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of which not one within the whole city or liberties, and St. Andrew's buried but fifteen, which was very low. 'Tis true St. Giles's buried two-and-thirty, but still as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy; the whole bill also was very low, for the week before the bill was but 347, and the week above mentioned but 343. We

continued in these hopes for a few days. But it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus; they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day: so that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed, nay, it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles's, it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week, the thing began to show itself; there was indeed but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion; for in St. Giles's parish they buried forty in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials were not increased above thirty-two, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there was fourteen of the spotted fever, as well as fourteen of the plague; and we took it for granted upon the whole, that there was fifty died that week of the plague.

The next bill was from the 23rd of May to the 30th, when the number of the plague was seventeen; but the burials in St. Giles's were fifty three, a frightful number! of whom they set down but nine of the plague: but on an examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the lord mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted fever, or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June, the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rise high, the articles of the fever, spotted fever, and teeth, began to swell: for all that could conceal their distempers, did it to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them; and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet

was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles's, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been a hundred at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died except that one Frenchman, who I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the city, one in Wood-Street, one in Fenchurch-Street, and two in Crooked-Lane: Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate Church and Whitechapel Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy: but at the other end of the town their consternation was very great, and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry, from the west part of the city, thronged out of town, with their families and servants in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad-Street where I lived: indeed nothing was to be seen but wagons and carts, with goods, women, servants, children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty wagons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who it was apparent were returning, or sent from the countries to fetch more people; besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see, and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night (for indeed there was nothing

else of moment to be seen), it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks, that there was no getting at the lord mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health, for such as travelled abroad; for without these, there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now as there had none died in the city for all this time, my lord mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too, for a while.

This hurry, I say, continued some weeks, that is to say, all the months of May and June, and the more because it was rumoured that an order of the government was to be issued out, to place turnpikes and barriers on the road, to prevent people's travelling; and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass, for fear of bringing the infection along with them, though neither of these rumours had any foundation, but in the imagination, especially at first.

I now began to consider seriously with myself, concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London, or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice, and therefore I desire this account may pass with them rather for a direction to themselves to act by, than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me; the one was the carrying on my business and shop, which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in

the world; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity, as I saw apparently was coming upon the whole city; and which, however great it was, my fears perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me; my trade was a saddler, and as my dealings were chiefly not by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants, trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man, 'tis true, but I had a family of servants, who I kept at my business; had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods; and, in short, to leave them all as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss not only of my trade, but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal; and, advising with him, his answer was in three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz., Master, save thyself. In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself with his family; telling me, what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me: he told me the same thing, which I argued for my staying, viz., That I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; "For," says he, "is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so imminent a point of danger, and trust Him with your life?"

I could not argue that I was in any strait, as to a place where to go, having several friends and relations in Northamptonshire, whence our family first came from; and particularly I had an only sister in Lincolnshire, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My brother, who had already sent his wife and two children into Bedfordshire, and resolved to follow them, pressed my going very earnestly; and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse: for though it is true, all the people did not go out of the city of London; yet I may venture to say, that in a manner all the horses did; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole city, for some weeks. Once I resolved to travel on foot with one servant; and as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being very warm, and no danger from taking cold. I say, as many did, because several did so at last, especially those who had been in the armies, in the war which had not been many years past: and I must needs say, that speaking of second causes, had most of the people that travelled, done so, the plague had not been carried into so many country-towns and houses, as it was, to the great damage, and indeed to the ruin of abundance of people.

But then my servant, who I had intended to take down with me, deceived me, and being frighted at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me, so I was put off for that time; and one way or other, I always found that to appoint to go away, was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz., about these disappointments being from Heaven.

I mention this story also as the best method I can advise any person to take in such a case, especially, if he be one that makes conscience of his duty, and would be directed what to do in it, namely, that he should keep his eye upon the particular providences which occur at that time, and look upon them complexly, as they regard one another, and as altogether regard the question before him, and then I think he may safely take them for intimations from Heaven of what is his unquestioned duty to do in such a case; I mean as to going away

from, or staying in the place where we dwell, when visited with an infectious distemper.

It came very warmly into my mind, one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine Power, so these disappointments must have something in them extraordinary ; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out, or intimate to me, that it was the will of Heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God, that I should stay, He was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me ; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that He could cause His justice to overtake me when and where He thought fit.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again, and when I came to discourse with my brother again, I told him, that I inclined to stay and take my lot in that station, in which God had placed me ; and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty, on the account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from Heaven, and told me several stories of such foolhardy people, as he called them, as I was ; that I ought indeed to submit to it as a work of Heaven, if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases, and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of Him, who, having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me ; and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of His providence, and which was not : but that I should take it as an intimation from Heaven, that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, since at the same time I had my health and limbs, and other servants,

and might with ease travel a day or two on foot, and having a good certificate of being in perfect health, might either hire a horse, or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attended the presumption of the Turks and Mahometans in Asia, and in other places, where he had been (for my brother being a merchant, was a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how, presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being pre-determined, and unalterably beforehand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places, and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten or fifteen thousand a week, whereas the Europeans, or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost seven hundred a week, and my brother told me he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and as I had already prepared everything as well as I could, as to my business, and who to entrust my affairs with, I had little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do. I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset, the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by and by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to resolve first, what was my duty to do, and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impressions which I had on my mind for staying; the

visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of my effects, which were, as I might say, my estate: also the intimations which I thought I had from Heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture, and it occurred to me, that if I had what I might call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved, if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction, that I should be kept. Add to this, that turning over the Bible, which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinarily serious upon the question, I cried out, "Well, I know not what to do, Lord direct me!" and the like; and that juncture I happened to stop turning over the book, at the 91st Psalm, and casting my eye on the second verse, I read on to the seventh verse exclusive; and after that, included the 10th, as follows:—"I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge, and my fortress, my God, in Him will I trust. Surely He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with His feathers, and under His wings shalt thou trust: His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day: nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation: there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling," &c.

I scarce need tell the reader, that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever; and that as my times were in His hands, He was as able to keep me in a time of the infection, as in a time of

health; and if He did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in His hands, and it was meet He should do with me as should seem good to Him.

With this resolution I went to bed; and I was farther confirmed in it the next day, by the woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to entrust my house and all my affairs. But I had a farther obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also; so that if I would have gone away, I could not, and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking, in Surrey, and afterwards fetched a round farther into Buckinghamshire, or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the plague; and though I had indeed no symptoms of that distemper, yet being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension that I really was infected, but in about three days I grew better, the third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed; the apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things however, put off all my thoughts of going into the country; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate either with him, or with myself, on that subject.

It was now mid July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles's, St. Andrew's Holborn, and towards Westminster, began now to come eastward, towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us, for the city, that is to say within the walls, was indifferent healthy still; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark; for though there died that week 1,268 of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above nine hundred died of the plague; yet

there was but twenty-eight in the whole city, within the walls, and but nineteen in Southwark, Lambeth parish included; whereas in the parishes of St. Giles's and St. Martin's in the Fields alone, there died four hundred and twenty-one.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the out-parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city, as I shall observe afterward; we perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz., by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate; which last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe, that in this particular week, from the 4th to the 11th of July, when, as I have observed, there died near four hundred of the plague in the two parishes of St. Martin's, and St. Giles's in the Fields only, there died in the parish of Aldgate but four, in the parish of Whitechapel three, in the parish of Stepney but one.

Likewise in the next week, from the 11th of July to the 18th, when the week's bill was 1,761, yet there died no more of the plague, on the whole Southwark side of the water than sixteen.

But this face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in Cripplegate parish especially, and in Clerkenwell; so that by the second week in August, Cripplegate parish alone buried eight hundred and eighty-six, and Clerkenwell one hundred and fifty-five; of the first, eight hundred and fifty might well be reckoned to die of the plague; and of the last, the bill itself said, one hundred and forty-five were of the plague.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly

went generally once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see if it was safe; and having the key in my pocket, I used to go into the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened, in the midst of such a calamity, as to rob and steal; yet certain it is, that all sorts of villanies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town, as openly as ever, I will not say quite as frequently, because the numbers of people were many ways lessened.

But the city itself began now to be visited too, I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were, indeed, extremely lessened, by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July, they continued to flee, though not in such multitudes as formerly. In August, indeed, they fled in such a manner, that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the city.

As they fled now out of the city, so I should observe, that the court removed early, viz., in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them; for which I cannot say, that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far, in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered, I mean the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and altogether; for, as to the particular part called the city, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected; but in the whole, the face of things, I say, was much altered; sorrow and sadness sat upon every face, and though some part were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked

deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself, and his family, as in the utmost danger: were it possible to represent those times exactly, to those that did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds, and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears! the mourners did not go about the streets indeed, for nobody put on black, or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends; but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses, where their dearest relations were, perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard, as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end, men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets, which were usually so thronged, now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger, and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street, I mean of the by-streets, and see nobody to direct me, except watchmen set at the doors of such houses as were shut up; of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town, on some special business, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually; and indeed I walked a great way where I had no business; I went up Holborn, and there the street was full of people; but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side or

other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The inns of court were all shut up, nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's-Inn, or Gray's-Inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace, there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places, were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I do not mean shut up by the magistrates; but that great numbers of persons followed the court, by the necessity of their employments, and other dependencies; and as others retired, really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets: but the fright was not yet near so great in the city, abstractly so called; and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet, as I have observed, that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were, as it were alarmed, and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the city, or the east and south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true, a vast many people fled, as I have observed, yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town, and from that we call the heart of the city, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people; and such people as were unincumbered with trades and business. But of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families, who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

It must not be forgot here, that the city and suburbs were prodigiously full of people at the time of this visitation, I mean at the time that it began; for though I have lived to see a farther increase, and mighty throngs of people settling in London, more than ever, yet we had always a notion that the numbers of people, which, the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and the monarchy being restored, had flocked to London to settle into business, or to depend upon, and attend the court for rewards of services, preferments, and the like, was such, that the town was computed to have in it above a hundred thousand people more than ever it held before; nay, some took upon them to say, it had twice as many, because all the ruined families of the royal party flocked hither; all the old soldiers set up trades here, and abundance of families settled here; again, the court brought with them a great flux of pride and new fashions; all people were grown gay and luxurious, and the joy of the restoration had brought a vast many families to London.

I often thought that as Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, when the Jews were assembled together, to celebrate the Passover, by which means an incredible number of people were surprised there, who would otherwise have been in other countries; so the plague entered London, when an incredible increase of people had happened occasionally, by the particular circumstances above-named: as this conflux of the people, to a youthful and gay court, made a great trade in the city, especially in every thing that belonged to fashion and finery; so it drew by consequence, a great number of workmen, manufacturers, and the like, being mostly poor people, who depended upon their labour. And I remember in particular, that in a representation to my lord mayor, of the condition of the poor, it was estimated that there were no less than an hundred thousand ribbon weavers in and about the city; the chiefest number of whom lived then in the parishes of Shoreditch, Stepney, Whitechapel and Bishopsgate; that,

namely, about Spitalfields ; that is to say, as Spitalfields was then ; for it was not so large as now, by one fifth part.

By this however, the number of people in the whole may be judged of ; and indeed, I often wondered, that after the prodigious numbers of people that went away at first, there was yet so great a multitude left, as it appeared there was.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time ; while the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which put altogether, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man and abandon their dwellings, leaving the place as a space of ground designed by Heaven for an Akeldama, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth ; and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things ; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any (women especially) left behind.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after another, a little before the fire ; the old women, and the phlegmatic hypochondriac part of the other sex, who I could almost call old women too, remarked, especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over, that those two comets passed directly over the city, and that so very near the houses, that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone. That the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow ; but, that the comet before the fire, was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious, and that, accordingly, one foretold a heavy judgment, slow but severe, terrible, and frightful, as was the plague. But the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery, as the conflagration ; nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet

preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it; that it made a rushing mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

I saw both these stars, and I must confess, had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments, and especially when after the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say, God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

But I could not at the same time carry these things to the height that others did, knowing too, that natural causes are assigned by the astronomers for such things; and that their motions and even their revolutions are calculated, or pretended to be calculated; so that they cannot be so perfectly called the forerunners, or foretellers, much less the procurers of such events, as pestilence, war, fire, and the like.

But let my thoughts, and the thoughts of the philosophers be, or have been what they will, these things had a more than ordinary influence upon the minds of the common people, and they had almost universal melancholy apprehensions of some dreadful calamity and judgment coming upon the city; and this principally from the sight of this comet, and the little alarm that was given in December, by two people dying at St. Giles's, as above.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times, in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies, and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever they were before or since: whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not, but certain it is, books frighted them terribly; such as "Lilly's Almanack," "Gadbury's Astrological Predic-

tions," "Poor Robin's Almanack," and the like; also several pretended religious books, one entitled, "Come out of her My People, lest you be partaker of her Plagues;" another called, "Fair Warning;" another, "Britain's Remembrancer," and many such; all, or most part of which, foretold directly or covertly, the ruin of the city; nay, some were so enthusiastically bold, as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; and one in particular, who like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed." I will not be positive whether he said yet forty days, or yet a few days. Another run about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, "Woe to Jerusalem!" a little before the destruction of that city: so this poor naked creature cried, "Oh! the great, and the dreadful God!" and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me, or any one else; but held on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree; and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the bills, dead of the plague at St. Giles's.

Next to these public things, were the dreams of old women; or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits. Some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London, so that the living would not be able to bury the dead; others saw apparitions in the air, and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never

appeared ; but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed ; and no wonder if they, who were poring continually at the clouds, saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held in a hand coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city. There they saw hearses and coffins in the air, carrying to be buried. And there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied and the like ; just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

> So Hypochondriac fancies represent
> Ships, armies, battles in the firmament ;
> Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
> And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve.

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people gave every day of what they had seen ; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them, without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the plague was begun (otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's), I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air to see what a woman told them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life, showed them the motion and the form, and the poor people came into it so eagerly and with so much readiness : "Yes ! I see it all plainly," says one, "there's the sword as plain as can be." Another saw the angel ; one saw his very face, and cried out, What a glorious creature he was ! One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but, perhaps, not with so much willingness to be imposed upon ; and I said, indeed,

that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side, by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had, I must have lied: but the woman turning upon me looked in my face and fancied I laughed, in which her imagination deceived her too; for I really did not laugh, but was very seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However, she turned from me, called me profane fellow, and a scoffer; told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching, and that despisers, such as I, should wonder and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she, and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them. So I left them, and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also; and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty-France into Bishopsgate Churchyard, by a row of almshouses; there are two churchyards to Bishopsgate church or parish, one we go over to pass from the place called Petty-France into Bishopsgate-Street, coming out just by the church door, the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the almshouses are on the left, and a dwarf wall with a palisado on it on the right hand, and the city wall on the other side more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through between the palisadoes into the burying-place, and as many people as the narrowness of the place would admit to stop without hindering the passage of others; and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a gravestone there; he described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly, that it was the greatest matter of amazement to him in the world that everybody did not see it

as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, "There it is! Now it comes this way!" then, "'Tis turned back!" till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a belief of it, that one fancied he saw it, and another fancied he saw it; and thus he came every day making a strange hubbub, considering it was in so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven, and then the ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of anything; but so positive was this poor man that he gave the people the vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frighted, till at length few people that knew of it cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people, plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of the people should come to be buried in that churchyard; as indeed happened: but that he saw such aspects, I must acknowledge I never believed, nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it if possible.

These things serve to show how far the people were really overcome with delusions; and as they had a notion of the approach of a visitation, all their predictions run upon a most dreadful plague, which should lay the whole city and even the kingdom waste; and should destroy almost all the nation, both man and beast.

To this, as I said before, the astrologers added stories of the conjunctions of planets in a malignant manner, and with a mischievous influence; one of which conjunctions was to happen, and did happen, in October; and the other in November; and they filled the people's heads with predictions, on these signs of the heavens, intimating that those conjunctions foretold drought, famine, and pestilence; in the two first of

them, however, they were entirely mistaken, for we had no droughty season, but in the beginning of the year a hard frost, which lasted from December almost to March ; and after that moderate weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing winds, and in short, very seasonable weather ; and also several very great rains.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up, but nothing was done in it, as I am informed ; the government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Neither can I acquit those ministers, that, in their sermons, rather sunk than lifted up the hearts of their hearers ; many of them no doubt did it for the strengthening the resolution of the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance ; but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way ; and indeed, as God Himself through the whole Scriptures rather draws to Him by invitations, and calls to turn to Him and live, than drives us by terror and amazement, so I must confess I thought the ministers should have done also, imitating our blessed Lord and Master, in this, that His whole Gospel is full of declarations from Heaven of God's mercy, and His readiness to receive penitents and forgive them ; complaining "ye will not come unto Me that ye may have life" ; and that therefore His Gospel is called the Gospel of peace, and the Gospel of grace.

But we had some good men, and that of all persuasions and opinions, whose discourses were full of terror ; who spoke nothing but dismal things ; and, as they brought the people together with a kind of horror, sent them away in tears, prophesying nothing but evil tidings ; terrifying the people with the apprehensions of being utterly destroyed ; not guiding them—at least not enough—to cry to Heaven for mercy.

It was, indeed, a time of very unhappy breaches

among us in matters of religion. Innumerable sects, and divisions, and separate opinions prevailed among the people ; the Church of England was restored indeed with the restoration of the monarchy about four year before, but the ministers and preachers of the Presbyterians, and Independents, and of all the other sorts of professions, had begun to gather separate societies, and erect altar against altar, and all those had their meetings for worship apart, as they have now, but not so many then, the dissenters being not thoroughly formed into a body as they are since, and those congregations which were thus gathered together were yet but few ; and even those that were the government did not allow, but endeavoured to suppress them, and shut up their meetings.

But the visitation reconciled them again, at least for a time, and many of the best and most valuable ministers and preachers of the dissenters were suffered to go into the churches, where the incumbents were fled away, as many were, not being able to stand it ; and the people flocked without distinction to hear them preach, not much inquiring who or what opinion they were of. But after the sickness was over that spirit of charity abated, and every church being again supplied with their own ministers, or others presented where the minister was dead, things returned to their old channel again.

One mischief always introduces another ; these terrors and apprehensions of the people led them into a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked to encourage them to ; and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, to know their fortune, or, as 'tis vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like ; and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic ; to the black art, as they called it, and I know not what ; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of ; and this trade grew so open and so generally

practised, that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors, Here lives a fortune-teller; Here lives an astrologer; Here you may have your nativity calculated; and the like; and friar Bacon's brazen head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton, or of Merlin's head, and the like.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people, I really know not, but certain it is, that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day: and if but a grave fellow in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black cloak, which was the habit those quack-conjurers generally went in, was but seen in the streets, the people would follow them in crowds and ask them questions as they went along.

I need not mention what a horrid delusion this was, or what it tended to; but there was no remedy for it, till the plague itself put an end to it all; and I suppose cleared the town of most of those calculators themselves. One mischief was that if the poor people asked these mock astrologers whether there would be a plague or no, they all agreed in the general to answer "Yes," for that kept up their trade; and had the people not been kept in a fright about that, the wizards would presently have been rendered useless, and their craft had been at an end. But they always talked to them of such and such influences of the stars, of the conjunctions of such and such planets, which must necessarily bring sickness and distempers, and consequently the plague: and some had the assurance to tell them the plague was begun already; which was too true, though they that said so knew nothing of the matter.

The ministers, to do them justice, and preachers of most sorts, that were serious and understanding persons, thundered against these and other wicked practices, and exposed the folly as well as the wickedness of them together; and the most sober and judicious people despised and abhorred them. But it

was impossible to make any impression upon the middling people, and the working labouring poor; their fears were predominant over all their passions, and they threw away their money in a most distracted manner upon those whimseys. Maid-servants especially and men-servants were the chief of their customers; and their question generally was, after the first demand of "Will there be a plague?" I say, the next question was, "Oh, sir! for the Lord's sake, what will become of me? Will my mistress keep me; or will she turn me off? Will she stay here, or will she go into the country? And if she goes into the country, will she take me with her, or leave me here to be starved and undone?" And the like of men-servants.

The truth is, the case of poor servants was very dismal, as I shall have occasion to mention again, by and by; for it was apparent a prodigious number of them would be turned away, and it was so, and of them abundance perished, and particularly of those that these false prophets had flattered with hopes that they should be continued in their services and carried with their masters and mistresses into the country; and had not public charity provided for these poor creatures, whose number was exceeding great, and in all cases of this nature must be so, they would have been in the worst condition of any people in the city.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out; but I must also not forget that the more serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner; the government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin, and implore the mercy of God, to avert the dreadful judgment which hung over their heads; and, it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the occasion, how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged that there was often no coming near, no, not

to the very doors of the largest churches: also, there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places, at all which the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion; several private families also, as well of one opinion as of another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only; so that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious, applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation, as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things; the very court, which was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public danger. All the plays and interludes, which, after the manner of the French court, had been set up and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming tables, public dancing rooms, and music houses, which multiplied, and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such-like doings, which had bewitched the poor common people, shut up their shops, finding indeed no trade, for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances even of the common people; death was before their eyes, and everybody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

But even those wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for pardon, imploring His compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have been as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people: who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly; and, as I have said before, that they ran to conjurers and witches and all

sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them, who fed their fears and kept them always alarmed and awake, on purpose to delude them and pick their pockets; so they were as mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman, for medicines and remedies, storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called, that they not only spent their money but even poisoned themselves beforehand for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodies for the plague instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand it is incredible, and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors' bills, and papers of ignorant fellows quacking and tampering in physic, and inviting the people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz., INFALLIBLE preventive pills against the plague. NEVER-FAILING preservatives against the infection. SOVEREIGN cordials against the corruption of the air. EXACT regulations for the conduct of the body in case of infection. Antipestilential pills. INCOMPARABLE drink against the plague, never found out before. An UNIVERSAL remedy for the plague. The ONLY TRUE plague-water. The ROYAL ANTIDOTE against all kinds of infection: and such a number more that I cannot reckon up, and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up bills to summon people to their lodgings for directions and advice in the case of infection; these had specious titles also, such as these:

An eminent High-Dutch Physician, newly come over from Holland, where he resided during all the time of the great plague, last year, in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the plague upon them.

An Italian gentlewoman just arrived from Naples, having a choice secret to prevent infection, which she found out by her great experience, and did

wonderful cures with it in the late plague there, wherein there died 20,000 in one day.

An ancient gentlewoman having practised with great success in the late plague in this city, anno 1636, gives her advice only to the female sex. To be spoke with, &c.

An experienced physician, who has long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poison and infection, has, after forty years' practice, arrived to such skill as may, with God's blessing, direct persons how to prevent their being touched by any contagious distemper whatsoever. He directs the poor gratis.

I take notice of these by way of specimen; I could give you two or three dozen of the like, and yet have abundance left behind. 'Tis sufficient from these to apprise any one of the humour of those times, and how a set of thieves and pickpockets not only robbed and cheated the poor people of their money, but poisoned their bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with mercury, and some with other things as bad, perfectly remote from the thing pretended to, and rather hurtful than serviceable to the body in case an infection followed.

I cannot omit a subtlety of one of those quack operators with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave about the streets, this advertisement in capital letters; viz., He gives advice to the poor for nothing.

Abundance of poor people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health, and of the constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things for them to do which were of no great moment; but the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation, which, if they took such a quantity of, every morning, he would pawn his life they should never have the plague, no, though they lived in the house with

people that were infected. This made the people all resolve to have it; but then, the price of that was so much, I think 'twas half-a-crown; "But, sir," says one poor woman, "I am a poor almswoman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say, you give the poor your help for nothing." "Aye, good woman," says the doctor, "so I do, as I published there. I give my advice to the poor for nothing, but not my physic!" "Alas, sir," says she, "that is a snare laid for the poor then, for you give them your advice for nothing; that is to say, you advise them gratis, to buy your physic for their money, so does every shopkeeper with his wares." Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor, finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her upstairs again and give her his box of physic for nothing, which, perhaps too, was good for nothing when she had it.

But to return to the people, whose confusions fitted them to be imposed upon by all sorts of pretenders and by every mountebank. There is no doubt but these quacking sort of fellows raised great gains out of the miserable people, for we daily found the crowds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their doors were more thronged than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick, or any, though the most famous men of the time; and I was told that some of them got five pound a day by their physic.

But there was still another madness beyond all this, which may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the poor people at that time, and this was their following a worse set of deceivers than any of these, for these petty thieves only deluded them to pick their pockets and get their money, in which their wickedness, whatever it was, lay chiefly on the side of the deceiver's deceiving, not upon the deceived; but in this part I am going to mention, it lay chiefly in the people deceived, or equally in both; and this was in wearing charms, philters, exorcisms, amulets, and I know not what preparations to fortify the body with

them against the plague, as if the plague was not the hand of God, but a kind of a possession of an evil spirit, and that it was to be kept off with crossings, signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with so many knots, and certain words or figures written on them, as particularly the word Abracadabra, formed in triangle or pyramid, thus:

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits' mark in a cross:
I H
S

Others nothing but this mark, thus;
+

I might spend a great deal of time in my exclamations against the follies, and indeed wickedness of those things, in a time of such danger, in a matter of such consequences as this of a national infection; but my memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice only of the fact, and mention that it was so. How the poor people found the insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the dead-carts, and thrown into the common graves of every parish with these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

II

Defoe continues his account with a description of particular incidents of the time of the visitation.

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so

confined made bitter lamentations; complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my lord mayor, of houses causelessly, and some maliciously, shut up. I cannot say, but upon inquiry, many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious, or, if uncertain, yet, on his being content to be carried to the pesthouse, were released.

It is true that the locking up the doors of people's houses, and setting a watchman there night and day to prevent their stirring out, or any coming to them, when perhaps the sound people in the family might have escaped if they had been removed from the sick, looked very hard and cruel; and many people perished in these miserable confinements, which, 'tis reasonable to believe, would not have been distempered if they had had liberty, though the plague was in the house; at which the people were very clamorous and uneasy at first, and several violences were committed and injuries offered to the men who were set to watch the houses so shut up; also several people broke out by force in many places, as I shall observe by and by. But it was a public good that justified the private mischief; and there was no obtaining the least mitigation by any application to magistrates or government at that time, at least not that I heard of. This put the people upon all manner of stratagem in order if possible to get out, and it would fill a little volume to set down the arts used by the people of such houses to shut the eyes of the watchmen who were employed, to deceive them, and to escape or break out from them; in which frequent scuffles and some mischief happened, of which by itself.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning about eight o'clock, there was a great noise; it is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together when they were there, nor did I stay long there; but the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity, and

I called to one that looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter?

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up; he had been there all night, for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day watchman had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him; all this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen, they called for nothing, sent him of no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchman, neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from the Monday afternoon, when he heard great crying and screaming in the house, which as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time. It seems the night before, the dead-cart, as it was called, had been stopt there, and a servant-maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers or bearers, as they were called, put her into the cart, wrapped only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while, but at last one looked out, and said, with an angry quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, "What d'ye want, that ye make such a knocking?" He answered, "I am the watchman, how do you do? What is the matter?" The person answered, "What is that to you? Stop the dead-cart." This it seems, was about one o'clock; soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead-cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered; he continued knocking, and the bell-man called out several times, "Bring out your dead;" but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart being called to other houses, would stay no longer, and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man, or day-watch-man, as they called him, came to relieve him. Giving him an account of the particulars, they knocked at the

door a great while, but nobody answered, and they observed that the window or casement, at which the person had looked out who had answered before, continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window, and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor, in a dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift; but though he called aloud, and putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred or answered, neither could he hear any noise in the house.

He came down again upon this and acquainted his fellow, who went up also, and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the lord mayor, or some other magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the window. The magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broken open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundered, and accordingly it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who, having been infected, and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and were every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman, and get open the door; or get out at some back door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at the bitter parting, which to be sure, it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children and servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound, that I could never learn, nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

Many such escapes were made out of infected houses, as particularly when the watchman was sent of some errand; for it was his business to go of any errand that the family sent him of; that is to say for necessaries, such as food and physic, to fetch physicians if they would come, or surgeons, or nurses, or to order the

dead-cart, and the like; but with this condition, too, that when he went he was to lock up the outer door of the house, and take the key away with him; to evade this and cheat the watchmen people got two or three keys made to their locks, or they found ways to unscrew the locks, such as were screwed on, and so take off the lock, being in the inside of the house, and while they sent away the watchman to the market, to the bake-house, or for one trifle or another, open the door, and go out as often as they pleased. But this being found out the officers afterwards had orders to padlock up the doors on the outside, and place bolts on them as they thought fit.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in, because the maid-servant was taken sick; the master of the house had complained by his friends to the next alderman, and to the lord mayor, and had consented to have the maid carried to the pesthouse, but was refused; so the door was marked with a red cross, a padlock on the outside, as above, and a watchman set to keep the door, according to public order.

After the master of the house found there was no remedy, but that he, his wife and his children were to be locked up with this poor distempered servant, he called to the watchman, and told him he must go then and fetch a nurse for them to attend this poor girl, for that it would be certain death to them all to oblige them to nurse her, and told him plainly that, if he would not do this, the maid must perish either of the distemper, or be starved for want of food, for he was resolved none of his family should go near her, and she lay in the garret, four story high, where she could not cry out, or call to anybody for help.

The watchman consented to that, and went and fetched a nurse, as he was appointed, and brought her to them the same evening; during this interval, the master of the house took his opportunity to break a large hole through his shop into a bulk or stall, where

formerly a cobbler had sat before or under his shop window; but the tenant, as may be supposed, at such a dismal time as that, was dead or removed, and so he had the key in his own keeping; having made his way into this stall, which he could not have done if the man had been at the door, the noise he was obliged to make being such as would have alarmed the watchman; I say, having made his way into this stall, he sat still till the watchman returned with the nurse, and all the next day also; but the night following, having contrived to send the watchman of another trifling errand, which, as I take it, was to an apothecary's for a plaster for the maid, which he was to stay for the making up, or some other such errand, that might secure his staying some time; in that time he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house, and left the nurse and the watchman to bury the poor wench, that is, throw her into the cart, and take care of the house.

I could give a great many such stories as these, diverting enough, which in the long course of that dismal year I met with, that is heard of, and which are very certain to be true, or very near the truth; that is to say, true in the general, for no man could at such a time learn all the particulars. There was likewise violence used with the watchmen, as was reported in abundance of places; and I believe that from the beginning of the visitation to the end there was not less than eighteen or twenty of them killed, or so wounded as to be taken up for dead; which was supposed to be done by the people in the infected houses which were shut up, and where they attempted to come out and were opposed.

Nor indeed could less be expected, for here were just so many prisons in the town as there were houses shut up; and as the people shut up or imprisoned so were guilty of no crime, only shut up because miserable, it was really the more intolerable to them.

It had also this difference: that every prison, as we may call it, had but one jailer; and as he had the whole house to guard, and that many houses were so situated

as that they had several ways out, some more, some less, and some into several streets; it was impossible for one man so to guard all the passages as to prevent the escape of people made desperate by the fright of their circumstances, by the resentment of their usage, or by the raging of the distemper itself; so that they would talk to the watchman on one side of the house, while the family made their escape at another.

For example, in Coleman-Street there are abundance of alleys, as appears still; a house was shut up in that they call White's-Alley, and this house had a back window—not a door—into a court which had a passage into Bell-Alley; a watchman was set by the constable at the door of this house, and there he stood or his comrade night and day while the family went all away in the evening out at that window into the court, and left the poor fellows warding and watching for near a fortnight.

Not far from the same place they blowed up a watchman with gunpowder, and burnt the poor fellow dreadfully; and while he made hideous cries, and nobody would venture to come near to help him, the whole family that were able to stir got out at the windows, one story high, two that were left sick calling out for help. Care was taken to give them nurses to look after them, but the persons fled were never found, till after the plague was abated they returned; but as nothing could be proved, so nothing could be done to them.

It is to be considered, too, that as these were prisons without bars and bolts, which our common prisons are furnished with, so the people let themselves down out of their windows, even in the face of the watchman, bringing swords or pistols in their hands, and threatening the poor wretch to shoot him if he stirred or called for help.

In other cases, some had gardens and walls, or pales between them and their neighbours; or yards and backhouses; and these, by friendship and entreaties, would get leave to get over those walls or pales, and so go

out at their neighbours' doors; or, by giving money to their servants, get them to let them through in the night; so that, in short, the shutting up of houses was in nowise to be depended upon; neither did it answer the end at all; serving more to make the people desperate, and drive them to such extremities, as that they would break out at all adventures.

And that which was still worse, those that did thus break out, spread the infection farther by their wandering about with the distemper upon them, in their desperate circumstances, than they would otherwise have done: for whoever considers all the particulars in such cases, must acknowledge, and we cannot doubt but the severity of those confinements made many people desperate, and made them run out of their houses at all hazards, and with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go, or what to do, or, indeed, what they did; and many that did so were driven to dreadful exigences and extremities, and perished in the streets or fields for mere want, or dropped down, by the raging violence of the fever upon them. Others wandered into the country, and went forward any way, as their desperation guided them, not knowing whither they went or would go, till, faint and tired, and not getting any relief, the houses and villages on the road refusing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no, they have perished by the road side, or gotten into barns, and died there, none daring to come to them or relieve them, though perhaps not infected, for nobody would believe them.

On the other hand, when the plague at first seized a family, that is to say, when any one body of the family had gone out, and unwarily or otherwise catched the distemper and brought it home, it was certainly known by the family before it was known to the officers, who, as you will see by the order, were appointed to examine into the circumstances of all sick persons, when they heard of their being sick.

In this interval, between their being taken sick, and the examiners coming, the master of the house had

leisure and liberty to remove himself, or all his family, if he knew whither to go, and many did so. But the great disaster was, that many did thus after they were really infected themselves, and so carried the disease into the houses of those who were so hospitable as to receive them, which it must be confessed, was very cruel and ungrateful.

And this was in part the reason of the general notion, or scandal rather, which went about of the temper of people infected; namely, that they did not take the least care, or make any scruple of infecting others; though I cannot say but there might be some truth in it too, but not so general as was reported. What natural reason could be given for so wicked a thing, at a time when they might conclude themselves just going to appear at the bar of Divine justice, I know not: I am very well satisfied that it cannot be reconciled to religion and principle, any more than it can be to generosity and humanity; but I may speak of that again.

I am speaking now of people made desperate by the apprehensions of their being shut up, and their breaking out by stratagem or force, either before or after they were shut up, whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased. On the other hand, many that thus got away had retreats to go to, and other houses, where they locked themselves up, and kept hid till the plague was over; and many families, foreseeing the approach of the distemper, laid up stores of provisions, sufficient for their whole families, and shut themselves up, and that so entirely, that they were neither seen or heard of, till the infection was quite ceased, and then came abroad sound and well. I might recollect several such as these, and give you the particular of their management; for, doubtless, it was the most effectual secure step that could be taken for such, whose circumstance would not admit them to remove, or who had not retreats abroad proper for the case; for, in being thus shut up, they were as if they had been a hundred miles off. Nor do I remember, that any one

of those families miscarried. Among these, several Dutch merchants were particularly remarkable, who kept their houses like little garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out, or come near them; particularly one in a court in Throckmorton-Street, whose house looked into Drapers' Garden.

But I come back to the case of families infected, and shut up by the magistrates. The misery of those families is not to be expressed; and it was generally in such houses that we heard the most dismal shrieks and outcries of the poor people, terrified, and even frighted to death, by the sight of the condition of their dearest relations, and by the terror of being imprisoned as they were.

I remember, and, while I am writing this story, I think I hear the very sound of it: a certain lady had an only daughter, a young maiden about nineteen years old, and who was possessed of a very considerable fortune; they were only lodgers in the house where they were. The young woman, her mother, and the maid, had been abroad on some occasion, I do not remember what, for the house was not shut up; but, about two hours after they came home, the young lady complained she was not well, in a quarter of an hour more she vomited, and had a violent pain in her head. "Pray God," says her mother, in a terrible fright, "my child has not the distemper!" The pain in her head increasing, her mother ordered the bed to be warmed, and resolved to put her to bed; and prepared to give her things to sweat, which was the ordinary remedy to be taken, when the first apprehensions of the distemper began.

While the bed was airing, the mother undressed the young woman, and just as she was laid down in the bed, she, looking upon her body with a candle, immediately discovered the fatal tokens on the inside of her thighs. Her mother, not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle, and shrieked out in such a frightful manner, that it was enough to place horror upon the stoutest heart in the world; nor was it one scream, or one cry, but the fright having seized her

spirits, she fainted first, then recovered, then ran all over the house, up the stairs and down the stairs, like one distracted, and indeed really was distracted, and continued screeching and crying out for several hours, void of all sense, or, at least, government of her senses, and, as I was told, never came thoroughly to herself again. As to the young maiden, she was a dead corpse from that moment; for the gangrene, which occasions the spots, had spread over her whole body, and she died in less than two hours. But still the mother continued crying out, not knowing any thing more of her child, several hours after she was dead. It is so long ago, that I am not certain, but I think the mother never recovered, but died in two or three weeks after.

* * * * *

I had in family only an ancient woman, that managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself, and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act; the many dismal objects, which happened everywhere, as I went about the streets, had filled my mind with a great deal of horror, for fear of the distemper itself, which was indeed very horrible in itself, and in some more than in others; the swellings, which were generally in the neck or groin, when they grew hard, and would not break, grew so painful, that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows, or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal objects of that kind: others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings, and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard, as we walked along the streets, that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

I cannot say, but that now I began to faint in my resolutions; my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness: when I had been out, and

met with such terrible things as these I have talked of; I say, I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town: I wished, often, that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more, and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation, and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to Him with fasting, humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had, I employed in reading books, and in writing down my memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which, afterwards, I took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors; what I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects, such as occurred to me at that time, and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend, a physician, whose name was Heath, who I frequently visited during this dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my mouth, when I was in the streets; he also came very often to see me, and as he was a good Christian, as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me, in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived, and Dr. Heath coming to visit me and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up, and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all

our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first, to make a very strong smoke in the room, where the window or door was to be opened, with rosin and pitch, brimstone, or gunpowder, and the like, and we did this for some time, but as I had not laid in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely; however, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it; and first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal, and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own bread; also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks; also, I laid in a quantity of salt butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers and slaughter-houses, on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses to buy provisions, was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city, for the people catched the distemper, on those occasions, one of another, and even the provisions themselves were often tainted, at least I have great reason to believe so; and, therefore, I cannot say with satisfaction, what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market people, and such as brought provisions to town, were never infected. I am certain the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at last to such a degree, that few of their shops were kept open, and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile-End, and that way, and brought it to market upon horses.

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity, that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants, or their children;

and, as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound, brought death home with them.

It is true, people used all possible precaution; when any one bought a joint of meat in the market, they would not take it out of the butcher's hand, but take it off of the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles for scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were used; but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on this very account. Sometimes a man or woman dropped down dead in the very markets; for many people that had the plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments; this caused that many died frequently in that manner in the streets suddenly, without any warning; others perhaps, had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door or porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets, that, when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets, but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground; on the other hand, it is observable, that though, at first, the people would stop as they went along, and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet, afterward, no notice was taken of them; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, go cross the way and not come near it; or if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again, and seek some other way to go on the business we were upon; and, in those cases, the corpse was always left, till the officers had notice to come and take them away; or till night,

when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures, who performed these offices, fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off their clothes if they were well dressed, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But, to return to the markets; the butchers took that care, that, if any person died in the market, they had the officers always at hand, to take them up upon hand-barrows, and carry them to the next churchyard; and this was so frequent, that such were not entered in the weekly bill, found dead in the streets or fields, as is the case now, but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to such a degree, that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions, or frequented with buyers, compared to what they were before; and the lord mayor caused the country people who brought provisions, to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields; as particularly, in the fields beyond Whitechapel, in Spitalfields. Note, those streets now called Spitalfields, were then indeed open fields: also, in St. George's-fields, in Southwark; in Bunhill-fields, and in a great field, called Wood's Close, near Islington; thither the lord mayor, aldermen, and magistrates, sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as possible, and the like did many other people; and after this method was taken, the country people came with great cheerfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm; which I suppose added also to that report, of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said,

laid in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up, and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh meat, rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But, though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and, though I generally came frighted and terrified home, yet I could not restrain; only, that indeed I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations indeed upon me, to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman-Street parish, and which he had left to my care; and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes; as, particularly, of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who, in their agonies, would throw open their chamber windows, and cry out in a dismal surprising manner. It is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Token-House-Yard, in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, "Oh! death, death, death!" in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror, and a chillness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could anybody help one another; so I went on to pass into Bell-Alley.

Just in Bell-Alley, on the right hand of the passage, there was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window, but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side the alley called and asked,

"What is the matter?" Upon which, from the first window it was answered, "O Lord, my old master has hanged himself!" The other asked again, "Is he quite dead?" and the first answered, "Aye, aye, quite dead: quite dead and cold!" This person was a merchant, and a deputy alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention the name, though I knew his name too; but that would be a hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

But this is but one. It is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day; people, in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, etc. Mothers murdering their own children, in their lunacy; some dying of mere grief, as a passion; some of mere fright and surprise, without any infection at all; others frighted into idiotism and foolish distractions; some into despair and lunacy; others into melancholy madness.

III

The sudden ceasing of the disease at the end of the summer, after three weeks of excessive mortality.

I WOULD be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples historically; I mean of the thankfulness to God, our Preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstances of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it; the circumstances of the deliverance were, indeed, very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already; and, particularly, the dreadful condition which we were all in, when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop of the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power could have done it; the contagion despised all medicine, death raged in every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all and everything that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair, every heart failed them for fear; people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in the very faces and countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, Vain was the help of man; I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself: and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died; and the very first week's bill decreased 1843, a vast number indeed.

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people, that Thursday morning, when the weekly bill came out: it might have been perceived in their countenances, that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face: they shook one another by the hand in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before; where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows and call from one house to another, and asked how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the plague was abated; some would return, when they said good news, and ask, "What good news?" And when they answered that the plague was abated, and the bills decreased almost two thousand, they would cry out, "God be praised;" and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people, that it was as it were life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

I must confess myself to have been very much dejected just before this happened; for the prodigious number

that were taken sick the week or two before, besides those that died was such, and the lamentations were so great everywhere, that a man must have seemed to have acted even against his reason if he had so much as expected to escape; and as there was hardly a house but mine in all my neighbourhood but what was infected, so had it gone on, it would not have been long that there would have been any more neighbours to be infected; indeed it is hardly credible what dreadful havoc the last three weeks had made; for if I might believe the person whose calculations I always found very well grounded, there were not less than thirty thousand people dead, and near one hundred thousand fallen sick in the three weeks I speak of; for the number that sickened was surprising, indeed, it was astonishing, and those whose courage upheld them all the time before, sunk under it now.

In the middle of their distress, when the condition of the city of London was so truly calamitous, just then it pleased God, as it were, by His immediate hand, to disarm this enemy; the poison was taken out of the sting; it was wonderful: even the physicians themselves were surprised at it: wherever they visited they found their patients better, either they had sweated kindly, or the tumours were broke, or the carbuncles went down, and the inflammations round them changed colour, or the fever was gone, or the violent headache was assuaged, or some good symptom was in the case; so that, in a few days everybody was recovering; whole families that were infected and down, that had ministers praying with them, and expected death every hour, were revived and healed, and none died at all out of them.

Nor was this by any new medicine found out, or new method of cure discovered, or by any experience in the operation, which the physicians or surgeons had attained to; but it was evidently from the secret invisible hand of Him that had at first sent this disease as a judgment upon us; and let the atheistic part of mankind call my saying this what they please, it is no enthusiasm. It

was acknowledged, at that time, by all mankind. The disease was enervated, and its malignity spent, and let it proceed from whencesoever it will, let the philosophers search for reasons in nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to lessen the debt they owe to their Maker; those physicians who had the least share of religion in them, were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it.

If I should say that this is a visible summons to us all to thankfulness, especially we that were under the terror of its increase, perhaps it may be thought by some, after the sense of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a sermon instead of writing a history; making myself a teacher, instead of giving my observations of things; and this restrains me very much from going on here, as I might otherwise do; but if ten lepers were healed, and but one returned to give thanks, I desire to be as that one, and to be thankful for myself.

Nor will I deny but there were abundance of people who, to all appearance, were very thankful at that time: for their mouths were stopped, even the mouths of those whose hearts were not extraordinarily long affected with it; but the impression was so strong at that time that it could not be resisted—no, not by the worst of the people.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street that were strangers and that we knew nothing at all of, expressing their surprise. Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out of the end of the Minories, and looking a little up the street and down, he throws his hands abroad, "Lord, what an alteration is here! Why, last week I came along here and hardly anybody was to be seen." Another man, I heard him, adds to his words, "'Tis all wonderful; 'tis all a dream." "Blessed be God," says a third man, "and let us give thanks to Him, for 'tis all His own doing. Human help and human skill was at an end." These

were all strangers to one another, but such salutations as these were frequent in the street every day ; and in spite of a loose behaviour, the very common people went along the streets, giving God thanks for their deliverance.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast ; indeed, we were no more afraid now to pass by a man with a white cap upon his head, or with a cloth wrapped round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before ; but now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance ; and I should wrong them very much, if I should not acknowledge, that I believe many of them were really thankful ; but I must own, that for the generality of the people it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red Sea and looked back and saw the Egyptians overwhelmed in the water ; viz., That "they sang His praise, but they soon forgat His works."

I can go no farther here. I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into the unpleasant work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself. I shall conclude the account of this calamitous year, therefore, with a coarse but a sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums, the same year they were written :—

A dreadful plague in London was,
In the year sixty-five,
Which swept an hundred thousand souls
Away ; yet I alive.

THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN SINGLETON

(1720)

In this book, Defoe imitates the published journals of the famous privateers of his time: Dampier, Sharp, Funnell, etc. He may, perhaps, have thought that such a book might stimulate the young to the high enterprise of opening up new markets in little-known parts of the world.

Captain Singleton, after a childhood of poverty, goes to sea, and to the devil. Like various pirates of the time, he spent some time in the wilds of Madagascar and Africa. Afterwards, growing rich as a pirate, he cruises the world in a fine frigate. On being reformed by a Quaker, he returns to England and settles down with a Quakeress for wife.

In this extract there is a description of his arrival at an unknown land in the South Sea.

In a word, we kept on our course to the south, a little westerly, till we passed the south tropic, where we found the winds variable; and now we stood away fair west, and held it out for about twenty days, when we discovered land right ahead, and on our larboard bow; we made directly to the shore, being willing to take all advantages now for supplying ourselves with fresh provisions and water, knowing we were now entering on that vast unknown Indian Ocean, perhaps the greatest sea on the globe, having, with very little interruption of islands, a continued sea quite round the globe.

We found a good road here, and some people on shore; but when we landed they fled up the country, nor would they hold any correspondence with us, or come near us, but shot at us several times with arrows as long as lances. We set up white flags for a truce; but they either did not, or would not, understand it;

on the contrary, they shot our flag of truce through several times with their arrows; so that, in a word, we never came near any of them.

We found good water here, though it was something difficult to get at it; but for living creatures, we could see none; for the people, if they had any cattle, drove them all away, and showed us nothing but themselves, and that sometimes in a threatening posture, and in number so great, that made us suppose the island to be greater than we at first imagined. It is true, they would not come near enough for us to engage with them, at least not openly; but they came near enough for us to see them, and, by the help of our glasses, to see that they were clothed and armed, but their clothes were only about their lower and middle parts; that they had long lances, like half pikes, in their hands, besides bows and arrows; that they had great high things on their heads, made, as we believed, of feathers, and which looked something like our grenadiers' caps in England.

When we saw them so shy, that they would not come near us, our men began to range over the island, if it was such, for we never surrounded it, to search for cattle, and for any of the Indians' plantations, for fruits or plants; but they soon found, to their cost, that they were to use more caution than that came to, and that they were to discover perfectly every bush and every tree, before they ventured abroad in the country; for about fourteen of our men going further than the rest, into a part of the country which seemed to be planted, as they thought, for it did but seem so, only I think it was overgrown with canes, such as we make our cane chairs with; I say, venturing too far, they were suddenly attacked with a shower of arrows from almost every side of them, as they thought, out of the tops of the trees.

They had nothing to do, but to fly for it, which, however, they could not resolve on, till five of them were wounded; nor had they escaped so, if one of them had not been so much wiser, or thoughtfuller than the rest,

as to consider, that though they could not see the enemy, so as to shoot at them, yet perhaps the noise of their shot might terrify them, and that they should rather fire at a venture. Accordingly, ten of them faced about, and fired at random anywhere among the canes.

The noise and the fire not only terrified the enemy, but, as they believed, their shot had luckily hit some of them; for they found not only that the arrows, which came thick among them before, ceased; but they heard the Indians halloo, after their way, to one another, and make a strange noise, more uncouth, and inimitably strange, than any they had ever heard, more like the howling and barking of wild creatures in the woods, than like the voice of men, only that sometimes they seemed to speak words.

They observed also that this noise of the Indians went farther and farther off, so that they were satisfied the Indians fled away, except on one side, where they heard a doleful groaning and howling, and where it continued a good while, which they supposed was from some or other of them being wounded, and howling by reason of their wounds; or killed, and others howling over them; but our men had enough of making discoveries; so they did not trouble themselves to look farther, but resolved to take this opportunity to retreat. But the worst of their adventure was to come; for as they came back, they passed by a prodigious great trunk of an old tree; what tree it was, they said they did not know, but it stood like an old decayed oak in a park, where the keepers in England take *a stand*, as they call it, to shoot a deer; and it stood just under the steep side of a great rock or hill, that our people could not see what was beyond it.

As they came by this tree, they were of a sudden shot at from the top of the tree, with seven arrows and three lances, which, to our great grief, killed two of our men, and wounded three more. This was the more surprising, because, being without any defence, and so near the trees, they expected more lances and arrows every moment; nor would flying do them any service,

the Indians being, as appeared, very good marksmen. In this extremity, they had happily this presence of mind, viz., to run close to the tree, and stand as it were under it; so that those above could not come at, or see them, to throw their lances at them. This succeeded, and gave them time to consider what to do; they knew their enemies and murderers were above, for they heard them talk, and those above knew those were below; but they below were obliged to keep close for fear of their lances from above. At length one of our men looking a little more strictly than the rest, thought he saw the head of one of the Indians, just over a dead limb of the tree, which, it seems the creature sat upon. One man immediately fired, and levelled his piece so true, that the shot went through the fellow's head; and down he fell out of the tree immediately, and came upon the ground with such force, with the height of his fall, that if he had not been killed with the shot, he would certainly have been killed with dashing his body against the ground.

This so frighted themselves, that, besides the howling noise they made in the tree, our men heard a strange clutter of them in the body of the tree, from whence they concluded they had made the tree hollow, and were got to hide themselves there. Now, had this been the case, they were secure enough from our men, for it was impossible any of our men could get up the tree on the outside, there being no branches to climb by; and, to shoot at the tree, that they tried several times to no purpose, for the tree was so thick, that no shot would enter it. They made no doubt, however, but that they had their enemies in a trap, and that a small siege would either bring them down, tree and all, or starve them out; so they resolved to keep their post, and send to us for help. Accordingly, two of them came away to us for more hands, and particularly desired, that some of our carpenters might come with tools, to help cut down the tree, or at least to cut down other wood, and set fire to it; and that, they concluded, would not fail to bring them out.

Accordingly, our men went like a little army, and with mighty preparations for an enterprise the like of which has scarce been ever heard, to form the siege of a great tree. However, when they came there, they found the task difficult enough, for the old trunk was indeed a very great one, and very tall, being at least two-and-twenty foot high, with seven old limbs standing out every way on the top, but decayed, and very few leaves, if any, left on it.

William the Quaker, whose curiosity led him to go among the rest, proposed that they should make a ladder, and get up upon the top, and then throw wild-fire into the tree and smoke them out. Others proposed going back, and getting a great tree, and smoke them out. Others proposed going back, and getting a great gun out of the ship, which should split the tree in pieces with the iron bullets; others, that they should cut down a great deal of wood, and pile it up round the tree, and set it on fire, and to burn the tree, and the Indians in it.

These consultations took up our people no less than two or three days, in all which time they heard nothing of the supposed garrison within this wooden castle, nor any noise within. William's project was first gone about, and a large strong ladder was made, to scale this wooden tower; and in two or three hours' time, it would have been ready to mount, when, on a sudden, they heard the noise of the Indians in the body of the tree again, and a little after, several of them appeared in the top of the tree, and threw some lances down at our men; one of which struck one of our seamen a-top of the shoulder, and gave him such a desperate wound that the surgeons not only had a great deal of difficulty to cure him, but the poor man endured such horrible tortures, that we all said they had better have killed him outright. However, he was cured at last, though he never recovered the perfect use of his arm, the lance having cut some of the tendons on the top of the arm, near the shoulder, which, as I suppose, performed the office of motion to the limb before; so that the poor

man was a cripple all the days of his life. But to return to the desperate rogues in the tree; our men shot at them, but did not find they had hit them, or any of them; but as soon as ever they shot at them, they could hear them huddle down into the trunk of the tree again, and there to be sure they were safe.

Well, however, it was this which put by the project of William's ladder; for when it was done, who would venture up among such a troop of bold creatures as were there, and who, they supposed, were desperate by their circumstances? And as but one man at a time could go up, they began to think that it would not do; and indeed I was of the opinion (for about this time I was come to their assistance), that the going up the ladder would not do, unless it was thus, that a man should, as it were, run just up to the top, and throw some fire-works into the tree, and so come down again; and this we did two or three times, but found no effect from it. At last one of our gunners made a stinkpot, as we called it, being a composition which only smokes, but does not flame or burn; but withal, the smoke of it is so thick, and the smell of it so intolerably nauseous, that it is not to be suffered. This he threw into the tree himself, and we waited for the effect of it, but heard or saw nothing all that night, or the next day; so we concluded the men within were all smothered, when, on a sudden, the next night we heard them upon the top of the tree again, shouting and hallooing like madmen.

We concluded, as anybody would, that this was to call for help; and we resolved to continue our siege; for we were all enraged to see ourselves so balked by a few wild people, whom we thought we had safe in our clutches; and indeed never was there so many concurring circumstances to delude men, in any case we had met with. We resolved, however, to try another stinkpot the next night, and our engineer and gunner had got it ready, when hearing a noise of the enemy, on the top of the tree, and in the body of the tree, I was not willing to let the gunner go up the ladder,

which, I said, would be but to be certain of being murdered. However, he found a medium for it, and that was to go up a few steps, and, with a long pole in his hand, to throw it in upon the top of the tree, the ladder being standing all this while against the top of the tree; but when the gunner, with his machine at the top of his pole, came to the tree, with three other men to help him, behold the ladder was gone.

This perfectly confounded us; and we now concluded the Indians in the tree had by this piece of negligence taken the opportunity, and come all down the ladder, made their escape, and had carried away the ladder with them. I laughed most heartily at my friend William, who, as I said, had the direction of the siege, and had set up a ladder, for the garrison, as we called them, to get down upon, and run away. But when daylight came, we were all set to rights again; for there stood our ladder, hauled up on the top of the tree, with about half of it in the hollow of the tree, and the other half upright in the air. Then we began to laugh at the Indians for fools, that they could not as well have found their way down by the ladder, and have made their escape, as to have pulled it up by main strength into the tree.

We then resolved upon fire, and so to put an end to the work at once, and burn the tree and its inhabitants together; and accordingly we went to work to cut wood, and in a few hours' time we got enough, as we thought, together; and piling it up round the bottom of the tree, we set it on fire; so waiting at a distance, to see when the gentlemen's quarters being too hot for them they would come flying out at the top. But we were quite confounded, when on a sudden we found the fire all put out by a great quantity of water thrown upon it. We then thought the devil must be in them, to be sure. Says William, "This is certainly the cunningest piece of Indian engineering that ever was heard of; and there can be but one thing more to guess at, besides witchcraft and dealing with the devil, which I believe not one word of," says he; "and that must be, that

this is an artificial tree, or a natural tree artificially made hollow down into the earth, through root and all; and that these creatures have an artificial cavity underneath it, quite into the hill, or a way to go through, and under the hill, to some other place; and where that other place is, we know not; but if it be not our own fault, I'll find the place, and follow them into it, before I am two days older." He then called the carpenters, to know of them if they had any large saws that would cut through the body; and they told him they had not any saws that were long enough, nor could men work into such a monstrous old stump in a great while; but that they would go to work with it with their axes, and undertake to cut it down in two days, and stock up the root of it in two more. But William was for another way, which proved much better than all this; for he was for silent work, that if possible, he might catch some of the fellows in it: so he sets twelve men to it with large augers, to bore great holes into the side of the tree, to go almost through, but not quite through; which holes were bored without noise; and when they were done, he filled them all with gunpowder, stopping strong plugs, bolted crossways into the holes, and then boring a slanting hole, of a less size, down into the greater hole, all which were filled with powder, and at once blown up. When they took fire, they made such a noise, and tore and split the tree in so many places, and in such a manner, that we could see plainly such another blast would demolish it; and so it did. Thus at the second time we could, at two or three places, put our hands into them, and discovered the cheat, namely, that there was a cave or hole dug into the earth, from or through the bottom of the hollow, and that it had communication with another cave further in, where we heard the voices of several of the wild folks, calling and talking to one another.

When we came thus far, we had a great mind to get at them; and William desired, that three men might be given him with hand-grenadoes; and he promised

to go down first, and boldly he did so; for William, give him his due, had the heart of a lion.

They had pistols in their hands, and swords by their sides; but, as they had taught the Indians before, by their stinkpots, the Indians returned them in their own kind; for they made such a smoke come up out of the entrance into the cave or hollow, that William and his three men were glad to come running out of the cave, and out of the tree too, for mere want of breath; and indeed they were almost stifled.

Never was a fortification so well defended, or assailants so many ways defeated. We were now for giving it over, and particularly, I called William, and told him, I could not but laugh to see us spinning out our time here for nothing; that I could not imagine what we were doing; that it was certain the rogues that were in it were cunning to the last degree, and it would vex anybody to be so balked by a few naked ignorant fellows; but still it was not worth our while to push it any further; nor was there anything, that I knew of, to be got by the conquest, when it was made; so that I thought it high time to give it over.

William acknowledged that what I said was just, and that there was nothing but our curiosity to be gratified in this attempt; and though, as he said, he was very desirous to have searched into the thing, yet he would not insist upon it: so we resolved to quit it, and come away; which we did. However, William said before we went he would have this satisfaction of them, viz., that he burnt down the tree, and stopped up the entrance into the cave. While he was doing this, the gunner told him he would have one satisfaction of the rogues; and this was, that he would make a mine of it, and see which way it had vent. Upon this he fetches two barrels of powder out of the ships, and placed them in the inside of the hollow cave, as far in as he durst go to carry them, and then filling up the mouth of the cave where the tree stood, and ramming it sufficiently hard, leaving only a pipe or touchhole, he gave fire to it, and stood at a distance, to see which

way it would operate, when on the sudden, he found the force of the powder burst its way out among some bushes on the other side the little hill I mentioned, and that it came roaring out there as out of the mouth of a cannon; immediately running thither, we saw the effects of the powder.

First, We saw that *there* was the other mouth of the cave which the powder had so torn and opened, that the loose earth was so fallen in again, that nothing of shape could be discerned; but there we saw what was become of the garrison of Indians too, who had given us all this trouble; for some of them had no arms, some no legs, some no head, some lay half buried in the rubbish of the mine, that is to say, in the loose earth that fell in; and, in short, there was a miserable havoc made of them all; for we had good reason to believe, not one of them that were in the inside could escape, but rather were shot out of the mouth of the cave, like a bullet out of a gun.

We had now our full satisfaction of the Indians; but in short, this was a losing voyage; for we had two men killed, one quite crippled, five more wounded; we spent two barrels of powder, and eleven days' time, and all to get the understanding how to make an Indian mine, or how to keep garrison in a hollow tree; and with this wit, bought at this dear price, we came away, having taken in some fresh water, but got no fresh provisions.

MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER

Much ink has been wasted upon the question of the authorship of this book. Many think that it is not by Defoe, others that it is by Defoe; others, again, that it is written by Defoe but drawn in the main from some authentic cavalier journal. The style and the construction are so like those of Defoe, that one may be excused for counting it his. If it be by him, it is one of the best of his historical romances. It describes the fortunes of a young gentleman who, after a taste of war in Europe, joins the king's party, and serves in his armies, in the abortive Scotch war, and throughout the civil troubles.

The selections given describe the Scotch war and the battle of Edgehill.

I

THE SCOTCH WAR

I HAVE little or nothing to say as to action in this mock expedition. The King was persuaded at last to march to Berwick; and, as I have said already, a party of horse went out to learn news of the Scots, and as soon as they saw them, run away from them bravely.

This made the Scots so insolent, that whereas before they lay encamped behind a river, and never showed themselves, in a sort of modest deference to their king, which was the pretence of not being aggressors or invaders, only arming in their own defence; now, having been invaded by the English troops entering Scotland, they had what they wanted; and to show it was not fear that restrained them before, but policy, now they came up in parties to our very gates, braving and facing us every day.

I had, with more curiosity than discretion, put myself as a volunteer at the head of one of our parties of horse,

under my Lord Holland, when they went out to discover the enemy; they went, they said, to see what the Scots were a-doing.

We had not marched far, but our scouts brought word they had discovered some horse, but could not come up to them because a river parted them. At the heels of these came another party of our men upon the spur to us, and said the enemy was behind, which might be true, for aught we knew, but it was so far behind that nobody could see them, and yet the country was plain and open for above a mile before us. Hereupon we made a halt, and indeed I was afraid 'twould have been an odd sort of a halt, for our men began to look one upon another, as they do in like cases when they are going to break; and when the scouts came galloping in, the men were in such disorder, that, had but one man broke away, I am satisfied they had all run for it.

I found my Lord Holland did not perceive it; but after the first surprise was a little over, I told my lord what I had observed; and that unless some course was immediately taken, they would all run at the first sight of the enemy. I found he was much concerned at it, and began to consult what course to take to prevent it. I confess 'tis a hard question, how to make men stand and face an enemy, when fear has possessed their minds with an inclination to run away; but I'll give that honour to the memory of that noble gentleman, who, though his experience in matters of war was small, having never been in much service, yet his courage made amends for it; for I dare say he would not have turned his horse from an army of enemies, nor have saved his life at the price of running away for it.

My lord soon saw, as well as I, the fright the men were in after I had given him a hint of it; and, to encourage them, rode through their ranks, and spoke cheerfully to them, and used what arguments he thought proper to settle their minds. I remembered a saying which I had heard old Marshal Gustavus Horn speak in Germany, "If you find your men falter, or in doubt, never suffer them to halt, but keep them advancing;

for while they are going forward it keeps up their courage."

As soon as I could get opportunity to speak to him, I gave him this as my opinion. "That's very well," says my lord, "but I am studying," says he, "to post them so as that they can't run if they would; and if they stand but once to face the enemy, I don't fear them afterwards."

While we were discoursing thus, word was brought that several parties of the enemies were seen on the farther side of the river, upon which my lord gave the word to march; and as we were marching on, my lord calls out a lieutenant, who had been an old soldier, with only five troopers whom he had most confidence in, and having given him his lesson, he sends him away. In a quarter of an hour, one of the five troopers comes back, galloping and hallooing, and tells us his lieutenant had with his small party beaten a party of twenty of the enemy's horse over the river, and had secured the pass, and desired my lord would march up to him immediately.

'Tis a strange thing that men's spirits should be subjected to such sudden changes, and capable of so much alteration from shadows of things. They were for running before they saw the enemy, now they are in haste to be led on, and, but that in raw men we are obliged to bear with anything, the disorder in both was intolerable.

The story was a premeditated sham, and not a word of truth in it, invented to raise their spirits, and cheat them out of their cowardly phlegmatic apprehensions, and my lord had his end in it, for they were all on fire to fall on; and I am persuaded had they been led immediately into a battle begun to their hands, they would have laid about them like furies, for there is nothing like victory to flush a young soldier. Thus, while the humour was high, and the fermentation lasted, away we marched; and passing one of their great commons, which they call moors, we came to the river, as he called it, where our lieutenant was posted

with his four men. 'Twas a little brook, fordable with ease, and leaving a guard at the pass, we advanced to the top of a small ascent, from whence we had a fair view of the Scots army, as they lay behind another river larger than the former.

Our men were posted well enough, behind a small enclosure, with a narrow lane in their front; and my lord had caused his dragoons to be placed in the front, to line the hedges; and in this posture he stood viewing the enemy at a distance. The Scots, who had some intelligence of our coming, drew out three small parties, and sent them by different ways, to observe our number; and forming a fourth party, which I guessed to be about six hundred horse, advanced to the top of the plain, and drew up to face us, but never offered to attack us.

One of the small parties, making about a hundred men, one third foot, passes upon our flank in view, but out of reach; and as they marched, shouted at us, which our men, better pleased with that work than with fighting, readily enough answered, and would fain have fired at them for the pleasure of making a noise; for they were too far off to hit them.

I observed that these parties had always some foot with them, and yet if the horse galloped or pushed on ever so forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage.

Gustavus Adolphus, that king of soldiers, was the first that I have ever observed found the advantage of mixing small bodies of musketeers among his horse; and had he had such nimble strong fellows as these, he would have prized them above all the rest of his men. These were those they call highlanders; they would run on foot with their arms and all their accoutrements, and keep very good order too, and yet keep pace with the horse, let them go at what rate they would. When I saw the foot thus interlined among the horse, together with the way of ordering their flying parties, it presently occurred to my mind, that here was some of our old Scots, come home out of Germany, that had

the ordering of matters; and if so, I knew we were not a match for them.

Thus we stood facing the enemy till our scouts brought us word the whole Scots army was in motion, and in full march to attack us; and though it was not true, and the fear of our men doubled every object, yet 'twas thought convenient to make our retreat. The whole matter was, that the scouts having informed them what they could of our strength, the six hundred were ordered to march towards us, and three regiments of foot were drawn out to support the horse.

I know not whether they would have ventured to attack us, at least before their foot had come up; but whether they would have put it to the hazard or no, we were resolved not to hazard the trial, so we drew down to the pass; and, as retreating looks something like running away, especially when an enemy is at hand, our men had much ado to make their retreat pass for a march, and not a flight; and, by their often looking behind them, anybody might know what they would have done if they had been pressed.

I confess, I was heartily ashamed when the Scots, coming up to the place where we had been posted, stood and shouted at us. I would have persuaded my lord to have charged them, and he would have done it with all his heart, but he saw it was not practicable; so we stood at gaze with them above two hours, by which time their foot were come up to them, and yet they did not offer to attack us. I never was so ashamed of myself in my life; we were all dispirited; the Scots gentlemen would come out single, within shot of our post, which, in a time of war, is always accounted a challenge to any single gentleman, to come out and exchange a pistol with them, and nobody would stir; at last our old lieutenant rides out to meet a Scotsman that came pickeering on his quarter. This lieutenant was a brave and a strong fellow, had been a soldier in the Low Countries; and though he was not of any quality, only a mere soldier, had his preferment for his conduct. He gallops bravely up to his adversary, and exchang-

ing their pistols, the lieutenant's horse happened to be killed. The Scotsman very generously dismounts, and engages him with his sword, and fairly masters him, and carries him away prisoner; and I think this horse was all the blood was shed in that war.

The lieutenant's name, thus conquered, was English, and as he was a very stout old soldier, the disgrace of it broke his heart. The Scotsman indeed used him very generously; for he treated him in the camp very courteously, gave him another horse, and set him at liberty, gratis. But the man laid it so to heart, that he never would appear in the army, but went home to his own country, and died.

I had enough of party-making, and was quite sick with indignation at the cowardice of the men; and my lord was in as great a fret as I, but there was no remedy; we durst not go about to retreat, for we should have been in such confusion that the enemy must have discovered it. So my lord resolved to keep the post, if possible, and send to the King for some foot. Then were our men ready to fight with one another who should be the messenger; and at last, when a lieutenant with twenty dragoons was dispatched, he told us afterwards, he found himself an hundred strong before he was gotten a mile from the place.

In short, as soon as ever the day declined, and the dusk of the evening began to shelter the designs of the men, they dropt away from us one by one; and at last in such numbers, that, if we had stayed till the morning, we had not had fifty men left, out of twelve hundred horse and dragoons.

When I saw how 'twas, consulting with some of the officers, we all went to my Lord Holland, and pressed him to retreat, before the enemy should discern the flight of our men; so he drew us off, and we came to the camp the next morning, in the shamefullest condition that ever poor men could do. And this was the end of the worst expedition ever I made in my life.

To fight and be beaten, is a casualty common to a soldier, and I have since had enough of it; but to run

away at the sight of an enemy, and neither strike or be stricken, this is the very shame of the profession, and no man that has done it, ought to show his face again in the field, unless disadvantages of place or number make it tolerable, neither of which was our case.

My Lord Holland made another march a few days after, in hopes to retrieve this miscarriage; but I had enough of it, so I kept in my quarters; and though his men did not desert him as before, yet, upon the appearance of the enemy, they did not think it fit to fight, and came off with but little more honour than they did before.

There was no need to go out to seek the enemy after this, for they came, as I have noted, and pitched in sight of us, and their parties came up every day to the very outworks of Berwick; but nobody cared to meddle with them; and in this posture things stood when the pacification was agreed on by both parties; which, like a short truce, only gave both sides breath to prepare for a new war more ridiculously managed than the former. When the treaty was so near a conclusion, as that conversation was admitted on both sides, I went over to the Scotch camp to satisfy my curiosity, as many of our English officers did also.

I confess, the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable.

They were generally tall swinging fellows; their swords were extravagantly, and, I think, insignificantly broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress was as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of merry-andrews, ready for Bartholomew Fair. They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another only by their

christian names, as Jemmy, Jockey, that is, John; and Sawny, that is, Alexander, and the like. And they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour, as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront.

But to their own clans, or lairds, they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. Give them their due, were their skill in exercises and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the bravest soldiers in the world. They are large bodies, and prodigiously strong; and two qualities they have above other nations, viz., hardy to endure hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it; for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them; and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. These were some of them, who, as I observed before, went out in parties with their horse.

There were three or four thousand of these in the Scots army, armed only with swords and targets; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no muskets at that time among them.

But there were also a great many regiments of disciplined men, who, by their carrying their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces, that they durst see an enemy.

II

THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL

We were now in a full march to fight the Earl of Essex. It was on Sunday morning the 24th of October, 1642, fair weather over head, but the ground very heavy and dirty. As soon as we came to the top of Edgehill, we discovered their whole army. They were

not drawn up, having had two miles to march that morning; but they were very busy forming their lines, and posting the regiments as they came up. Some of their horse were exceedingly fatigued, having marched forty-eight hours together; and had they been suffered to follow us three or four days' march farther, several of their regiments of horse would have been quite ruined, and their foot would have been rendered unserviceable for the present. But we had no patience.

As soon as our whole army was come to the top of the hill, we were drawn up in order of battle: the King's army made a very fine appearance; and indeed they were a body of gallant men as ever appeared in the field, and as well furnished at all points; the horse exceeding well accoutred, being most of them gentlemen and volunteers; some whole regiments serving without pay. Their horses very good and fit for service as could be desired. The whole army were not above eighteen thousand men, and the enemy not a thousand over or under, though we had been told they were not above twelve thousand; but they had been reinforced with four thousand men from Northampton.

The King was with the general, the Earl of Lindsey, in the main battle; Prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and the Marquess of Hertford, the Lord Willoughby, and several other very good officers, the left.

The signal of battle being given with two cannon shot, we marched in order of battalia down the hill, being drawn up in two lines, with bodies of reserve; the enemy advanced to meet us much in the same form, with this difference only, that they had placed their cannon on their right, and the King had placed ours in the centre, before, or rather between two great brigades of foot. Their cannon began with us first, and did some mischief among the dragoons of our left wing; but our officers perceiving the shot took the men and missed the horses, ordered all to alight, and every man leading his horse, to advance in the same order; and this saved our men, for most of the enemy's

shot flew over their heads. Our cannon made a terrible execution upon their foot for a quarter of an hour, and put them into great confusion, till the general obliged them to halt, and changed the posture of his front, marching round a small rising ground, by which he avoided the fury of our artillery.

By this time the wings were engaged, the King having given the signal of battle, and ordered the right wing to fall on. Prince Rupert, who, as is said, commanded that wing, fell on with such fury, and pushed the left wing of the parliament army so effectually, that in a moment he filled all with terror and confusion. Commissary-general Ramsey, a Scotsman, a Low Country soldier, and an experienced officer, commanded their left wing; and though he did all that an expert soldier and a brave commander could do, yet 'twas to no purpose; his lines were immediately broken, and all overwhelmed in a trice: two regiments of foot, whether as part of the left wing, or on the left of the main body, I know not, were disordered by their own horse, and rather trampled to death by the horses, than beaten by our men; but they were so entirely broken and disordered, that I do not remember that ever they made one volley upon our men; for their own horse running away, and falling foul on these foot, were so vigorously followed by our men, that the foot never had a moment to rally or look behind them. The point of the left wing of horse were not so soon broken as the rest, and three regiments of them stood firm for some time: the dexterous officers of the other regiments taking the opportunity, rallied a great many of their scattered men behind them, and pieced in some troops with those regiments; but after two or three charges, which a brigade of our second line, following the Prince, made upon them, they also were broken with the rest.

I remember, that at the great battle of Leipsic, the right wing of the imperialists having fallen in upon the Saxons with like fury to this, bore down all before them, and beat the Saxons quite out of the field; upon which the soldiers cried, "Victoria! Let us follow!" "No,

no," said the old general Tilly, "let them go, but let us beat the Swedes too, and then all's our own." Had Prince Rupert taken this method, and instead of following the fugitives, who were dispersed so effectually, that two regiments would have secured them from rallying; I say, had he fallen in upon the foot, or wheeled to the left, and fallen in upon the rear of the enemy's right wing of horse, or returned to the assistance of the left wing of our horse, we had gained the most absolute and complete victory that could be; nor had one thousand men of the enemy's army got off: but this prince, who was full of fire, and pleased to see the rout of the enemy, pursued them quite to the town of Kineton, where indeed he killed abundance of their men, and some time also was lost in plundering the baggage: but in the mean time, the glory and advantage of the day was lost to the King; for the right wing of the parliament horse could not be so broken. Sir William Balfour made a desperate charge upon the point of the King's left; and had it not been for two regiments of dragoons, who were planted in the reserve, had routed the whole wing; for he broke through the first line, and staggered the second, who advanced to their assistance, but was so warmly received by those dragoons, who came seasonably in, and gave their first fire on horseback, that his fury was checked, and having lost a great many men, was forced to wheel about to his own men; and had the King had but three regiments of horse at hand, to have charged him, he had been routed. The rest of this wing kept their ground, and received the first fury of the enemy with great firmness; after which, advancing in their turn, they were once masters of the Earl of Essex's cannon. And here we lost another advantage: for if any foot had been at hand to support these horse, they had carried off the cannon, or turned it upon the main battle of the enemy's foot; but the foot were otherwise engaged. The horse on this side fought with great obstinacy and variety of success a great while, Sir Philip Stapleton, who commanded the guards of the Earl of Essex, being engaged

with a party of our Shrewsbury cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a brigade of our foot, who, being advanced to fall on upon the parliament's main body, flanked Sir Philip's horse in their way, and, facing to the left, so furiously charged him with their pikes, that he was obliged to retire in great disorder, and with the loss of a great many men and horses.

All this while the foot on both sides were desperately engaged, and coming close up to the teeth of one another with the clubbed musket and push of pike, fought with great resolution, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, giving no quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus, till, as if they were tired, and out of wind, either party seemed willing enough to leave off, and take breath. Those which suffered most were that brigade which had charged Sir Philip Stapleton's horse, who, being bravely engaged in the front with the enemy's foot, were, on a sudden, charged again in front and flank, by Sir William Balfour's horse, and disordered, after a very desperate defence. Here the King's standard was taken, the standard-bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, being killed; but it was rescued again by Captain Smith, and brought to the King the same night, for which the King knighted the captain.

This brigade of foot had fought all the day, and had not been broken at last, if any horse had been at hand to support them. The field began to be now clear, both armies stood, as it were, gazing at one another, only the King, having rallied his foot, seemed inclined to renew the charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, most of their cannon being nailed while they were in our possession, and all the cannoneers killed or fled, and our gunners did execution upon Sir William Balfour's troops for a good while.

My father's regiment being in the right with the Prince, I saw little of the fight, but the rout of the enemy's left, and we had as full a victory there as we could desire, but spent too much time in it. We killed about two thousand men in that part of the action, and

having totally dispersed them, and plundered their baggage, began to think of our fellows when 'twas too late to help them. We returned however victorious to the King, just as the battle was over; the King asked the Prince what news? He told him he could give his Majesty a good account of the enemy's horse: "Aye, by G—d," says a gentleman that stood by me, "and of their carts too." That word was spoken with such a sense of the misfortune, and made such an impression in the whole army, that it occasioned some ill blood afterwards among us; and, but that the King took up the business, it had been of ill consequence; for some person who had heard the gentleman speak it, informed the Prince who it was, and the Prince resenting it, spoke something about it in the hearing of the party when the King was present. The gentleman, not at all surprised, told his highness openly, he had said the words; and though he owned he had no disrespect for his highness, yet he could not but say, if it had not been so, the enemy's army had been better beaten. The Prince replied something very disobliging; upon which the gentleman came up to the King, and kneeling, humbly besought his Majesty to accept of his commission, and to give him leave to tell the Prince, that, whenever his highness pleased, he was ready to give him satisfaction. The Prince was exceedingly provoked, and, as he was very passionate, began to talk very oddly, and without all government of himself. The gentleman, as bold as he, but much calmer, preserved his temper, but maintained his quarrel; and the King was so concerned, that he was very much out of humour with the Prince about it. However, his Majesty, upon consideration, soon ended the dispute, by laying his commands on them both to speak no more of it for that day; and refusing the commission from the colonel, for he was no less, sent for them both next morning in private, and made them friends again.

But to return to our story; we came back to the King timely enough to put the Earl of Essex's men out of all humour of renewing the fight; and, as I observed

before, both parties stood gazing at one another, and our cannon playing upon them, obliged Sir William Balfour's horse to wheel off in some disorder, but they returned us none again; which, as we afterwards understood, was, as I said before, for want of both powder and gunners; for the cannoneers and firemen were killed, or had quitted their train in the fight, when our horse had possession of their artillery; and as they had spiked up some of the cannon, so they had carried away fifteen carriages of powder.

Night coming on, ended all discourse of more fighting; and the King drew off and marched towards the hills. I know no other token of victory which the enemy had, than their lying in the field of battle all night, which they did for no other reason, than that, having lost their baggage and provisions, they had no where to go; and which we did not, because we had good quarters at hand.

The number of prisoners and of the slain, were not very unequal; the enemy lost more men, we most of quality. Six thousand men on both sides were killed on the spot, whereof, when our rolls were examined, we missed two thousand five hundred. We lost our brave general the old Earl of Lindsey, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, Colonel Lunsford, prisoners; and Sir Edmund Verney, and a great many gentlemen of quality, slain. On the other hand, we carried off Colonel Essex, Colonel Ramsey, and the Lord St. John, who also died of his wounds; we took five ammunition wagons full of powder, and brought off about five hundred horse in the defeat of the left wing, with eighteen standards and colours, and lost seventeen.

The slaughter of the left wing was so great, and the flight so effectual, that several of the officers rid clear away, coasting round, and got to London, where they reported, that the parliament army was entirely defeated, all lost, killed, or taken, as if none but them were left alive to carry the news. This filled them with consternation for a while, but when other messengers followed

all was restored to quiet again, and the parliament cried up their victory, and sufficiently mocked God and their general, with their public thanks for it. Truly, as the fight was a deliverance to them, they were in the right to give thanks for it; but as to its being a victory, neither side had much to boast of, and they less a great deal than we had.

I got no hurt in this fight; and indeed we of the right wing had but little fighting; I think I discharged my pistols but once and my carabine twice, for we had more fatigue than fight; the enemy fled, and we had little to do but to follow, and kill those we could overtake. I spoiled a good horse, and got a better from the enemy in his room, and came home weary enough. My father lost his horse, and, in the fall, was bruised in his thigh by another horse treading on him, which disabled him for some time, and, at his request, by his Majesty's consent, I commanded the regiment in his absence.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL

(1720)

The supernatural always fascinated Defoe. In Duncan Campbell he brings together, vividly and convincingly, as much evidence of the possession of occult power as he can find. His invariable aim in writing was to instruct. Duncan Campbell is an attempt to convince the ignorant that occult power, where it exists, is a spiritual possession, deserving reverence, and that fortune tellers and other such cheats, being worldly and base, cannot possess that power.

Duncan Campbell is a young Scotch lad with the gift of foreseeing. Defoe gives much curious information concerning this occult power.

I

A DESCRIPTION OF HIS GENIUS

BEFORE I give the reader an account, as I shall do in three distinct discourses, first, concerning the intercourse which familiar spirits, viz., the good and bad genii, have had and continue to have to a great degree with some select parts of mankind; secondly, concerning the wonderful and almost miraculous power of a second-sight, with which many, beyond all controversy, have been extraordinarily but visibly gifted; and, thirdly, concerning the pitch of perfection to which the magic science has been carried and promoted by some adepts in that mysterious art; I will premise a few particulars about the genii which attended our little Duncan Campbell, and about the second-sight which he had when yet a child, and when we may much more easily believe that the wonders he performed and wrote of, must have been rather brought about by the intervention of such genii and the mediation of such a sight, than that he

could have invented such fables concerning them, and compassed such predictions as seemed to want their assistance, by the mere dint of a child's capacity.

One day, I remember, when he was about nine years of age, going early to the house where he and his mother lived, and it being before his mother was stirring, I went into little Duncan Campbell's room to divert myself with him; I found him sitting up in his bed with his eyes broad open, but as motionless as if he had been asleep, or even, if it had not been for a lively beautiful colour which the little pretty fair silver-haired boy always had in his cheeks, as if he had been quite dead; he did not seem so much as to breathe; the eyelids of him were so fixed and immovable, that the eyelashes did not so much as once shake, which the least motion imaginable must agitate; not to say that he was like a person in an ecstasy, he was at least in what we commonly call a brown study, to the highest degree, and for the largest space of time I ever knew. I, who had been frequently informed by people who have been present at the operations of second-sighted persons, that at the sight of a vision the eyelids of the person are erected, and the eyes continue staring till the object vanishes; I, I say, sat myself softly down on his bedside, and with a quiet amazement observed him, avoiding diligently any motion that might give him the least disturbance, or cause in him any avocation or distraction of mind from the business he was so intent upon. I remarked that he held his head sideways, with his mouth wide open, and in a listening posture, and that after so lively a manner, as, at the first general thought, made me forget his deafness, and plainly imagine he heard something, till the second thought of reflection brought into my mind the misfortune that shut up all passage for any sound through his ears. After a steadfast gaze, which lasted about seven minutes, he smiled, and stretched his arms as one recovering from a fit of indolence, and rubbed his eyes; then turning towards me, he made the sign of a salute, and hinted to me, upon his fingers, his desire for pen,

ink, and paper, which I reached him from a little desk that stood at his bed's feet.

Placing the paper upon his knees, he wrote me the following lines, which together with my answers I preserve by me, for their rarity, to this very day, and which I have transcribed word for word, as they form a little series of dialogue.

Duncan Campbell. I am sorry I can't stay with you; but I shall see my pretty youth and my lamb by and by, in the fields, near a little coppice or grove, where I go often to play with them, and I would not lose their company for the whole world; for they and I are mighty familiar together, and the boy tells me everything that gets me my reputation among the ladies and nobility, and you must keep it secret.

My question. I will be sure to keep it secret; but how do you know you are to meet them there to-day? Did the little boy appoint you?

Duncan Campbell. Yes, he did, and signified that he had several things to predict to me, concerning people that he foreknew would come to me the week following to ask me questions.

My question. But what was you staring at when I came in?

Duncan Campbell. Why, at that little boy that goes along with the lamb I speak of; and 'twas then he made me the appointment.

My question. How does he do it? Does he write?

Duncan Campbell. No, he writes sometimes, but oftener he speaks with his fingers, and mighty swift; no man can do it so quick, or write half so soon; he has a little bell in his hand, like that which my mother makes me a sign to shake when she wants the servants: with that he tickles my brain strangely, and gives me an incredible delight of feeling in the inside of my head; he usually wakes me with it in the morning when he comes to make me an appointment. I fancy 'tis what you call hearing, which makes me mighty desirous I could hear in your way; 'tis sweeter to the feeling, methinks, than anything is to the taste; it is just as if

my head was tickled to death, as my nurse used to tickle my sides; but 'tis a different feeling, for it makes things like little strings tremble in my temples and behind my ears. Now I remember, I will tell you what 'tis like, that makes me believe 'tis like your hearing, and that strange thing which you, that can speak, call sound or noise: because, when I was at church with my mother, who told me the bells could be heard ringing a mile off, as I was kneeling on the bench, and leaning over the top of the pew and gnawing the board, every time the man pulled the rope, I thought all my head beat as if it would come to pieces, but yet it pleased me, methought, rather than pained me, and I would be always gnawing the board when the man pulled the rope, and I told my mother the reason: the feeling of that was something like the little bell, but only *that* made my head throb, as if it would break, and this tickles me and makes, as it were, little strings on the back of my ears dance and tremble like anything; is not that like your way of hearing? If it be, it is a sweet thing to hear; it is more pleasant than to see the finest colours in the world; it is something like being tickled in the nose with a feather till one sneezes, or like the feeling after one strikes the leg when it has been numb, or asleep, only with this difference, that those two ways give a pain, and the other a pleasure. I remember, too, when I had a great cold, for about two months, I had a feeling something like it, but that was blunt, dull, confused, and troublesome. Is not this like what you call hearing?

My question. It is the finest kind of hearing, my dear: it is what we call music. But what sort of a boy is that that meets you? and what sort of a lamb?

Duncan Campbell. Oh! though they are like other boys and other lambs which you see, they are a thousand times prettier and finer! you never saw such a boy nor such a lamb in your lifetime.

My question. How big is he? As big as you are? And what sort of a boy is he?

Duncan Campbell. He is a little pretty boy, about as

tall as my knee, his face is as white as snow, and so are his little hands ; his cheeks are as red as a cherry, and so are his lips ; and when he breathes, it makes the air more perfumed than my mother's sweet bags that she puts among the linen ; he has got a crown of roses, cowslips, and other flowers upon his head, such as the maids gather in May ; his hair is like fine silver threads, and shine like the beams of the sun ; he wears a loose veil down to his feet, that is as blue as the sky in a clear day, and embroidered with spangles, that look like the brightest stars in the night ; he carries a silver bell in one hand, and a book and pencil in the other, and he and the little lamb will dance and leap about me in a ring as high as my head ; the lamb has got a little silver collar with nine little bells upon it ; and every little piece of wool upon its back, that is as white as milk, is tied up all round it in puffs, like a little miss's hair, with ribbons of all colours ; and round its head, too, are little roses and violets stuck very thick into the wool that grows upon its forehead, and behind and between its ears, in the shape of a diadem. They first meet me dancing thus ; and after they have danced some time, the little boy writes down wonderful things in his book, which I write down in mine ; then they dance again, till he rings his bell, and then they are gone all of a sudden, I know not where ; but I feel the tickling in the inside of my head caused by the bell less and less, till I don't feel it at all ; and then I go home, read over my lesson in my book, and when I have it by heart, I burn the written leaves, according as the little boy bids me, or he would let me have no more. But I hear the little bell again ; the little boy is angry with me, he pulled me twice by the ear, and I would not displease him for anything ; so I must get up and go immediately to the joy and delight of my life.

II

CONCERNING THE SECOND-SIGHT

Mr. Martin lately published a book, entitled, "A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," called by the ancient geographers, Hebrides. It contains many curious particulars relating to the natural and civil history of those islands, with a map of them ; and in his preface he tells us that, "perhaps, it is peculiar to those isles that they have never been described, till now, by any man that was a native of the country, or had travelled them," as himself has done ; and in the conclusion of the said preface he tells us, he has "given here such an account of the second-sight as the nature of the thing will bear," which has "always been reckoned sufficient among the unbiassed part of mankind ; but for those that will not be so satisfied, they ought to oblige us with a new scheme, by which we may judge of matters of fact." The chief particulars he has given us concerning the second-sight, are here set down by way of abstract or epitome, that they may not be too tedious to the reader.

1. In the second-sight, the vision makes such a lively impression on the seers, that they neither see nor think of anything else but the vision as long as it continues, and then they appear pensive or jovial, according to the object which was presented to them.

2. At the sight of a vision the eyelids of the person are erected, and the eyes continue staring till the objects vanish, as has often been observed by the author and others present.

3. There is one in Skye, an acquaintance of whom observed, that when he sees a vision, the inner part of his eyelids turns so far upwards, that, after the object disappears, he must draw them down with his fingers, and sometimes employs others to draw them down, which he finds to be much the easier way.

4. The faculty of the second-sight does not lineally

descend in a family, as some imagine ; for he knows several parents that are endowed with it, but not their children, and so on the contrary ; neither is it acquired by any previous compact ; and after a strict inquiry, he could never learn from any among them that this faculty was communicable any way whatsoever.

NOTE. That this account is differing from the account that is given by Mr. Aubrey, a Fellow of the Royal Society ; and I think Mr. Martin's reason here against the descent of this faculty from parents to children is not generally conclusive. For though he may know parents endowed with it and not children, and so vice versa, yet there may be parents who are endowed with it, being qualified, as Mr. Aubrey has said, viz., both being second-sighted, or even one to an extraordinary degree, whose children may have it by descent. And as to this faculty's being any otherwise communicable, since the accounts differ, I must leave it to a farther examination.

5. The seer knows neither the object, time, nor place of a vision before it appears ; and the same object is often seen by different persons living at a considerable distance from one another. The true way of judging as to the time and circumstance of an object, is by observation ; for several persons of judgment, without this faculty, are more capable to judge of the design of a vision, than a novice that is a seer. As an object appears in the day or night, it will come to pass sooner or later accordingly.

6. If an object be seen early in the morning, which is not frequent, it will be accomplished in a few hours afterwards ; if at noon, it will commonly be accomplished that very day ; if in the evening, perhaps that night ; if after candles be lighted, it will be accomplished that night ; it is later always in accomplishment by weeks, months, and sometimes years, according to the time of the night the vision is seen.

7. When a shroud is perceived about one, it is a sure prognostic of death ; the time is judged according to the height of it about the person ; for if it be not seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of

a year, and perhaps some months longer; and as it is frequently seen to ascend higher towards the head, death is concluded to be at hand in a few days, if not hours, as daily experience confirms. Examples of this kind were shown the author, when the persons, of whom the observations were made, enjoyed perfect health.

There was one instance lately of a prediction of this kind, by a seer that was a novice, concerning the death of one of the author's acquaintance; this was communicated to a few only, and with great confidence; the author being one of the number, did not in the least regard it, till the death of the person, about the time foretold, confirmed to him the certainty of the prediction. The foresaid novice is now a skilful seer, as appears from many late instances; he lives in the parish of St. Mary's, the most northern in Skye.

8. If a woman be seen standing at a man's left hand, it is a presage that she will be his wife, whether they are married to others, or unmarried, at the time of the apparition. If two or three women are seen at once standing near a man's left hand, she that is next him will undoubtedly be his wife first, and so on, whether all three, or the man, be single or married at the time of the vision; of which there are several late instances of the author's acquaintance. It is an ordinary thing for them to see a man, that is to come to the house shortly after; and though he be not of the seer's acquaintance yet he not only tells his name, but gives such a lively description of his stature, complexion, habit, &c., that upon his arrival he answers the character given of him in all respects. If the person so appearing be one of the seer's acquaintance, he can tell by his countenance whether he comes in good or bad humour. The author has been seen thus, by seers of both sexes, at some hundreds of miles' distance; some that saw him in this manner had never seen him personally, and it happened according to their visions, without any previous design of his to go to those places, his coming there being purely accidental; and in the nineteenth page of his book he tells us, that Mr. Daniel

Morison, a minister, told him, that upon his landing in the island Rona, the natives received him very affectionately, and addressed themselves to him with this salutation: "God save you, Pilgrim! you are heartily welcome here, for we have had repeated apparitions of your person amongst us;" viz., after the manner of the second-sight.

9. It is ordinary with them to see houses, gardens, and trees, in places void of all three, and this in process of time uses to be accomplished; of which he gives an instance in the island of Skye.

10. To see a spark of fire fall upon one's arm, or breast, is a forerunner of a dead child to be seen in the arms of those persons, of which there are several fresh instances.

To see a seat empty at the time of one's sitting in it, is a presage of that person's death quickly after.

When a novice, or one that has lately obtained the second-sight, sees a vision in the night-time without doors, and comes near a fire, he presently falls into a swoon.

Some find themselves, as it were, in a crowd of people, having a corpse which they carry along with them; and after such visions the seers come in sweating, and describe the people that appeared; if there are any of their acquaintance among them, they give an account of their names, and also of the bearers. But they know nothing concerning the corpse.

All those that have the second-sight, do not always see these visions at once, though they are together at the time; but if one, who has this faculty, designedly touch his fellow seer, at the instant of a vision's appearing, then the second sees it as well as the first.

11. There is the way of foretelling death by a cry, that they call *taish*, which some call a *wraith*, in the lowland. They hear a loud cry without doors, exactly resembling the voice of some particular person, whose death is foretold by it, of which he gives a late instance, which happened in the village Rigg, in Skye isle.

12. Things are also foretold by smelling, sometimes,

as follows: Fish or flesh is frequently smelt in the fire, when at the same time neither of the two are in the house, or, in any probability, like to be had in it for some weeks or months. This smell several persons have who are endued with the second-sight, and it is always accomplished soon after.

13. Children, horses, and cows, have the second-sight, as well as men and women advanced in years.

That children see it, is plain, from their crying aloud at the very instant that a corpse or any other vision appears to an ordinary seer; of which he gives an instance in a child when himself was present.

That horses likewise see it is very plain, from their violent and sudden starting, when the rider, or seer in company with them, sees a vision of any kind by night or day. It is observable of a horse, that he will not go forward that way, till he be led about at some distance from the common road, and then he is in a sweat; he gives an instance of this in a horse in the Isle of Skye.

That cows have the second-sight appears from this; that if a woman milking a cow happens to see a vision by the second-sight, the cow runs away in a great fright at the same time, and will not be pacified for some time after.

In reference to this, Paracelsus, tom. ix. l. *de arte praesagâ*, writes thus: "Horses also have their auguries, who perceive, by their sight and smell, wandering spirits, witches, and spectres, and the like things; and dogs both see and hear the same."

Here in the next place the author answers objections that have lately been made against the reality of the second-sight.

First, It is objected, that these seers are visionary and melancholy people, who fancy they see things that do not appear to them or anybody else.

He answers, The people of these isles, and particularly the seers, are very temperate, and their diet is simple and moderate in quantity and quality; so that their brains are not, in all probability, disordered by undigested fumes of meat or drink. Both sexes are free

from hysteric fits, convulsions, and several other distempers of that sort. There are no madmen among them, nor any instance of self-murder. It is observed among them, that a man drunk, never has a vision of the second-sight; and he that is a visionary would discover himself in other things as well as in that; nor are such as have the second-sight, judged to be visionaries by any of their friends or acquaintance.

Secondly, It is objected, that there are none among the learned able to oblige the world with a satisfactory account of these visions; therefore they are not to be believed.

He answers, If everything of which the learned are not able to give a satisfactory account, shall be condemned as false and impossible, we shall find many other things, generally believed, which must be rejected as such.

Thirdly, It is objected, that the seers are impostors, and the people who believe them are credulous, and easy to be imposed upon.

He answers, The seers are generally illiterate, and well-meaning people, and altogether void of design; nor could he ever learn that any of them made the least gain of it; neither is it reputable among them to have that faculty; beside, the people of the Isles are not so credulous as to believe an impossibility, before the thing foretold be accomplished; but when it actually comes to pass, afterwards it is not in their power to deny it, without offering violence to their senses and reason; beside, if the seers were deceivers, can it be reasonable to imagine that all the islanders, who have not the second-sight, should combine together and offer violence to their understandings and senses, to force themselves to believe a lie from age to age? There are several persons among them, whose birth and education raise them above the suspicion of concurring with an imposture merely to gratify an illiterate and contemptible sort of persons. Nor can a reasonable man believe, that children, horses, and cows, could be engaged in a combination to persuade the world of the reality of a second-sight.

Every vision that is seen comes exactly to pass according to the rules of observation, though novices and heedless persons do not always judge by those rules; concerning which he gives instances.

There are visions seen by several persons, in whose days they are not accomplished; and this is one of the reasons why some things have been seen, that are said never to have come to pass; and there are also several visions seen, which are not understood till they are accomplished.

The second-sight is not a late discovery, seen by one or two in a corner, or a remote isle; but it is seen by many persons of both sexes, in several isles, separated about forty or fifty leagues from one another; the inhabitants of many of these isles never had the least converse by word or writing; and this faculty of seeing visions having continued, as we are informed by tradition, ever since the plantation of these isles, without being disproved by the nicest sceptic after the strictest inquiry, seems to be a clear proof of its reality.

It is observable, that it was much more common twenty or thirty years ago than at present; for one in ten does not see it now, that saw it then.

The second-sight is not confined to the Western Isles alone, the author having an account that it is in several parts of Holland, but particularly in Bommel, where a woman has it, for which she is courted by some, and dreaded by others. She sees a smoke about one's face, which is the forerunner of the death of a person so seen, and she actually foretold the deaths of several that lived there. She was living in that town a few winters ago.

The second-sight is likewise in the Isle of Man, as appears by this instance: Captain Leathes, the chief commander of Belfast, in his voyage 1690, lost thirteen men by a violent storm; and upon his landing in the Isle of Man, an ancient man, clerk to a parish there, told him immediately that he had lost thirteen men there; the captain inquired how he came to the knowledge of that; he answered that it was by thirteen lights, which he had seen come into the churchyard;

as Mr. Sacheverel tells us in his late description of the Isle of Man. Note, that this is like the sight of the corpse-candles in Wales, which is also well attested.

Here the author adds many other instances concerning the second-sight, of which I shall set down only a few.

A man in Knockow, in the parish of St. Mary's, the northernmost part of Skye, being in perfect health, and sitting with his fellow-servants at night, was on a sudden taken ill, dropped from his seat backward, and then fell a-vomiting; at which the family was much concerned, he having never been subject to the like before; but he came to himself soon after, and had no sort of pain about him. One of the family, who was accustomed to see the second-sight, told them that the man's illness proceeded from a very strange cause, which was thus: An ill-natured woman, whom he named, who lives in the next adjacent village of Bornskittag, came before him in a very angry and furious manner, her countenance full of passion, and her mouth full of reproaches, and threatened him with her head and hands, till he fell over, as you have seen him. This woman had a fancy for the man, but was like to be disappointed as to her marrying of him. This instance was told the author by the master of the family, and others who were present when it happened.

Sir Norman Macleod and some others, playing at tables, at a game called in Irish, Falmermore, wherein there are three of a side, and each of them throw the dice by turns, there happened to be one difficult point in the disposing of one of the tablemen; this obliged the gamester to deliberate before he was to change his man, since upon the disposing of it, the winning or losing of the game depended; at length the butler, who stood behind, advised the player where to place the man, with which he complied, and won the game. This being thought extraordinary, and Sir Norman hearing one whisper him in the ear, asked who advised him so skilfully? He answered it was the butler; but this seemed more strange, for it was generally thought he

could not play at tables. Upon this Sir Norman asked him how long it was since he had learned to play? and the fellow owned that he had never played in his life, but that he saw the spirit Brownie, a spirit usually seen in that country, reaching his arm over the player's head, and touching the part with his finger where the tableman was to be placed. This was told the author by Sir Norman, and others who happened to be present at the time.

Daniel Dow, *alias* Black, an inhabitant of Bornskittag, who is one of the precisest seers in the Isles, foretold the death of a young woman in Minginis, within less than twenty-four hours before the time, and accordingly she died suddenly in the fields, though at the time of the prediction she was in perfect health; but the shroud appearing close about her head, was the ground of his confidence that her death was at hand.

The same person foretold the death of a child in his master's arms, by seeing a spark of fire fall on his left arm; and this was likewise accomplished soon after the prediction.

Some of the inhabitants of Harris, sailing round the Isle of Skye, with a design to go to the opposite mainland, were strangely surprised with an apparition of two men hanging down by the ropes that secured the mast, but could not conjecture what it meant; they pursued their voyage, but the wind turning contrary, they were forced into Broad-ford, in the Isle of Skye, where they found Sir Donald Macdonald keeping a sheriff's court, and two criminals receiving sentence of death there. The ropes and mast of that very boat were made use of to hang those criminals. This was told the author by several, who had this instance related to them by the boat's crew.

Several persons, living in a certain family, told the author that they had frequently seen two men standing at a gentlewoman's left hand, who was their master's daughter; they told the men's names, and being her equals, it was not doubted but she would be married to one of them; and perhaps to the other after the death

of the first. Some time after a third man appeared, who seemed always to stand nearest to her of the three, but the seers did not know him, though they could describe him exactly ; and within some months after, this man who was seen last, actually came to the house, and fully answered the description given of him by those who never saw him but in a vision ; and he married the woman shortly after. They live in the Isle of Skye, and both themselves and others confirmed the truth of this instance when the author saw them.

Archibald Macdonald, of the parish of St. Mary's, in the Isle of Skye, being reputed famous in his skill of foretelling things to come, by the second-sight, happening to be in the village Knockow one night, and before supper, told the family that he had just then seen the strangest thing he ever saw in his life, viz., a man with an ugly long cap, always shaking his head; but that the strangest of all was a little kind of a harp which he had, with four strings only, and that it had two hart's horns fixed in the front of it. All that heard this odd vision fell a laughing at Archibald, telling him that he was dreaming, or had not his wits about him, since he pretended to see a thing which had no being, and was not so much as heard of in any part of the world. All this could not alter Archibald's opinion, who told them that they must excuse him if he laughed at them after the accomplishment of the vision. Archibald returned to his own house, and within three or four days after, a man with a cap, harp, &c., came to the house, and the harp, strings, horns, and cap, answered the description of them at first view, and he shook his head when he played; for he had two bells fixed to his cap. This harper was a poor man, who made himself a buffoon for his bread, and was never seen before in those parts, and at the time of the prediction he was in the Isle of Barray, which is about twenty leagues distant from that part of Skye. This relation is vouched by Mr. Daniel Martin, and all his family, and such as were then present ; and they live in the village where this happened.

PART II

LESSER WORKS, PAMPHLETS, AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS

I

From

THE STORM

A Lengthy Collection of Anecdotes of the Great Storm of November 26, 1703

And here I cannot omit that great notice has been taken of the townspeople of Deal who are blamed, and I doubt not with too much reason, for their great barbarity in neglecting to save the lives of abundance of poor wretches ; who having hung upon the masts and rigging of the ships or floated upon the broken pieces of wrecks, had gotten ashore upon the Goodwin Sands when the tide was out.

It was, without doubt, a sad spectacle to behold the poor seamen walking to and fro upon the sands, to view their postures, and the signals they made for help, which, by the assistance of glasses, was easily seen from the shore.

Here they had a few hours' reprieve, but had neither present refreshment, nor any hopes of life, for they were sure to be all washed into another world at the reflux of the tide. Some boats are said to come very near them in quest of booty, and in search of plunder, and to carry off what they could get, but nobody concerned themselves for the lives of these miserable creatures.

And yet I cannot but insert what I have received from very good hands in behalf of one person in that town, whose humanity deserves this remembrance, and I am glad of the opportunity of doing some justice in

this case to a man of so much charity in a town of so little.

Mr. Thomas Powell, of Deal, a slop-seller by trade, and at that time mayor of the town. The character of his person I need not dwell upon here, other than the ensuing accounts will describe, for when I have said he is a man of charity and courage, there is little I need to add to it to move the reader to value both his person and his memory; and though I am otherwise a perfect stranger to him, I am very well pleased to transmit to posterity the account of his behaviour, as an example to all good Christians to imitate on the like occasions.

He found himself moved with compassion at the distresses of the poor creatures whom he saw as aforesaid in that miserable condition upon the sands, and the first thing he did, he made application to the custom-house officers for the assistance of their boats and men, to save the lives of as many as they could come at; the custom-house men rudely refused, either to send their men, or to part with their boats.

Provoked with the unnatural carriage of the custom-house officers, he calls the people about him, and finding some of the common people began to be more than ordinarily affected with the distresses of their countrymen, and as he thought a little inclined to venture, he made a general offer to all that would venture out, that he would pay them out of his own pocket 5*s.* per head for all the men whose lives they could save; upon this proposal, several offered themselves to go, if he would furnish them with boats.

Finding the main point clear, and that he had brought the men to be willing, he, with their assistance, took away the custom-house boats by force; and though he knew he could not justify it, and might be brought into trouble for it, and particularly if it were lost, might be obliged to pay for it, yet he resolved to venture that, rather than hazard the loss of his design, for the saving so many poor men's lives; and having manned their boat with a crew of stout honest fellows, he with them took away several other boats from other persons, who

made use of them only to plunder and rob, not regarding the distresses of the poor men.

Being thus provided both with men and boats, he sent them off, and by this means brought on shore above 200 men, whose lives a few minutes after must infallibly have been lost.

Nor was this the end of his care, for when the tide came in, and 'twas too late to go off again, for that all that were left were swallow'd up with the raging of the sea, his care was then to relieve the poor creatures, who he had saved, and who, almost dead with hunger and cold, were naked and starving.

And first he applied himself to the Queen's agent for sick and wounded seamen, but he would not relieve them with one penny, whereupon, at his own charge, he furnished them with meat, drink, and lodging.

The next day several of them died, the extremities they had suffered, having too much mastered their spirits, these he was forced to bury also at his own charge, the agent still refusing to disburse one penny.

After their refreshment, the poor men assisted by the mayor, made a fresh application to the agent for conduct money to help them up to London, but he answered he had no order, and would disburse nothing; whereupon the mayor gave them all money in their pockets, and passes to Gravesend.

I wish I could say with the same freedom, that he received the thanks of the Government, and reimbursement of his money as he deserved, but in this I have been informed, he met with great obstructions and delays, though at last, after long attendance, upon a right application, I am informed he obtained the repayment of his money, and some small allowance for his time spent in soliciting for it.

Nor can the damage suffered in the river of Thames be forgot. It was a strange sight to see all the ships in the river blown away, the Pool was so clear, that as I remember, not above four ships were left between the upper part of Wapping, and Ratcliff Cross, for the tide

being up at the time when the storm blew with the greatest violence, no anchors or landfast, no cables or moorings would hold them, the chains which lay cross the river for the mooring of ships all gave way.

The ships breaking loose thus, it must be a strange sight to see the hurry and confusion of it, and as some ships had nobody at all on board, and a great many had none but a man or boy left on board just to look after the vessel, there was nothing to be done, but to let every vessel drive whither and how she would.

Those who know the reaches of the river, and how they lie, know well enough, that the wind being at south-west westerly, the vessels would naturally drive into the bight or bay from Ratcliff Cross to Limehouse Hole, for that the river winding about again from thence towards the new dock at Deptford, runs almost due south-west, so that the wind blew down one reach, and up another, and the ships must of necessity drive into the bottom of the angle between both.

This was the case, and as the place is not large, and the number of ships very great, the force of the wind had driven them so into one another, and laid them so upon one another as it were in heaps, that I think a man may safely defy all the world to do the like.

The author of this collection had the curiosity the next day to view the place, and to observe the posture they lay in, which nevertheless 'tis impossible to describe; there lay, by the best account he could take, few less than 700 sail of ships, some very great ones, between Shadwell and Limehouse inclusive; the posture is not to be imagined, but by them that saw it, some vessels lay heeling off with the bow of another ship over her waist, and the stem of another upon her fore-castle, the boltsprits of some drove into the cabin windows of others; some lay with their sterns tossed up so high, that the tide flowed into their fore-castles before they could come to rights; some lay so leaning upon others, that the undermost vessels would sink before the other could float; the numbers of masts, boltsprits and yards

split and broke, the staving the heads, and sterns, and carved work, the tearing and destruction of rigging, and the squeezing of boats to pieces between the ships, is not to be reckoned; but there was hardly a vessel to be seen that had not suffered some damage or other in one or all of these articles.

There was several vessels sunk in this hurry, but as they were generally light ships, the damage was chiefly to the vessels; but there were two ships sunk with great quantity of goods on board, the *Russel* galley was sunk at Limehouse, being a great part laden with bale goods for the Straits, and the *Sarah* galley lading for Leghorn, sunk at an anchor at Blackwall; and though she was afterwards weighed and brought on shore, yet her back was broke, or so otherwise disabled, as she was never fit for the sea; there were several men drowned in these last two vessels, but we could never come to have the particular number.

Near Gravesend several ships drove on shore below Tilbury Fort, and among them five bound for the West Indies, but as the shore is oozy and soft, the vessels sat upright and easy, and here the high tides which followed, and which were the ruin of so many in other places, were the deliverance of all these ships whose lading and value was very great, for the tide rising to an unusual height, floated them all off, and the damage was not so great as was expected.

If it be expected I should give an account of the loss, and the particulars relating to small craft, as the sailors call it, in the river, it is to look for what is impossible, other than by generals.

The watermen tell us of above 500 wherries lost, most of which were not sunk only, but dashed to pieces one against another, or against the shores and ships, where they lay. Ship boats without number were driven about in every corner, sunk and staved, and about 300 of them is supposed to be lost. Above 60 barges and lighters were found driven foul of the Bridge; some printed accounts tell us of sixty more sunk or staved between the Bridge and Hammersmith.

Abundance of lighters and barges drove quite through the Bridge, and took their fate below, whereof many were lost, so that we reckon by a modest account above 100 lighters and barges lost and spoiled in the whole, not reckoning such as with small damage were recovered.

In all this confusion, it could not be but that many lives were lost, but as the Thames oftentimes buries those it drowns, there has been no account taken. Two watermen at Blackfriars were drowned, endeavouring to save their boat; and a boat was said to be overset near Fulham, and five people drowned. According to the best account I have seen, about 22 people were drowned in the River upon this sad occasion, which considering all circumstances is not a great many; and the damage to shipping, computed with the vast number of ships then in the River, the violence of the storm, and the height of the tide, confirms me in the truth of that opinion, which I have heard many skilful men own, viz., that the river of Thames is the best harbour of Europe.

II

From a Political Pamphlet Entitled

THE ORIGINAL POWER OF THE COLLECTIVE BODY OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

(1701)

A Commonwealth can never be introduced but by such invasions of right, as must make our constituted Government impracticable: the reason is, because men never willingly change for the worst; and the people of England enjoy more freedom in our regal, than any people in the world can do in a popular government.

The people of England can never choose a Commonwealth government, till they come to desire less liberty than they now enjoy; that is, till they come to be blind to their own interest. 'Tis true, example is no argument; but I might freely appeal to the friends of the last republic in England to answer this question.

Whether the people of England, during the short government of Parliament here, which was erroneously called a Commonwealth, did, or whether they can under any Commonwealth government, founded never so wisely, enjoy greater privileges and advantages than under the present constitution in its full and free exercise, uninterrupted by the excesses of kings, evil counsellors, parties and passions?

If any shall pretend that the late Parliament is aimed at in this, I hope I may have as much liberty to suppose they are mistaken; for the days of judging by innuendo are at an end.

If anything seems to lie that way, the error must be theirs who have so mean thoughts of them, as to think the coat will fit them; if it does they are welcome to wear it. For my part, I declare myself to intend only the bringing things to such a right understanding, as may preserve the balance of power; and I hope I cannot offend any free representative of the people of England in saying, that what power they have they receive from the people they represent, and, that some powers do still remain with the people, which they never either divested themselves of, or committed to them.

Nor can I be sensible of offending, if I say, that 'tis possible for even a House of Commons to be in the wrong. 'Tis possible for a House of Commons to be misled by factions and parties. 'Tis possible for them to be bribed by pensions and places, and by either of these extremes to betray their trust, and abuse the people who entrust them: and if the people should have no redress in such a case, then would the nation be in the hazard of being ruined by their own representatives. And 'tis a wonder to find it asserted in a certain

treatise, that it is not to be supposed that ever the House of Commons can injure the people who intrust them. There can be no better way to demonstrate the possibility of a thing, than by proving that it has been already.

And we need go no farther back than to the reign of King Charles the Second, in which we have seen lists of 180 members who received private pensions from the Court; and if anybody shall ask whether that Parliament preserved the balance of power, in the three branches of our Constitution, in the due distribution some have mentioned, I am not afraid to answer in the negative.

And why, even to this day, are gentlemen so fond of spending their estates to sit in that House, that ten thousand pounds have been spent at a time to be chosen, and now that way of procuring elections is at an end, private briberies, and clandestine contrivances are made use of to get into the House. No man would give a groat to sit where he cannot get a groat honestly for sitting, unless there were either parties to gratify, profits to be made, or interest to support.

If then these things are possible, it seems to me not so improper for the people, who are the original and end of the constitution, and have the main concern in it, to be very solicitous that the due balance of power be preserved; and decently, and, according to law, always to shew their dislike and resentment at any public encroachment, which either branch of the Constitution shall make on each other, or on the whole, be it by their own representatives or anywhere else.

It cannot be that the people of England, who have so much concern in the good agreement of their governors, can see the two Houses of Parliament at any time clash with one another, or with the King, or the King with them; or encroach upon the rights and liberties of the subjects, and be unconcerned, and not express their fears.

Reason and justice allow, that when all delegated powers fail or expire, when governors devour the people

they should protect; and when Parliaments, if ever that unhappy time shall come again, should be either destroyed, or, which is as bad, be corrupted, and betray the people they represent, the people themselves, who are the original of all delegated power, have an undoubted right to defend their lives, liberties, properties, religion, and laws, against all manner of invasion or treachery, be it foreign or domestic; the Constitution is dissolved, and the laws of nature and reason act of course according to the following system of government.

> The Government's ungirt when justice dies,
> And Constitutions are nonentities:
> The nation's all a mob; there's no such thing
> As Lords, or Commons, Parliament, or King.
> A great promiscuous crowd the Hydra lies,
> Till laws revive, and mutual contract ties.
> A chaos free to choose for their own share,
> What case of government they please to wear.
> If to a king they do the reins commit,
> All men are bound in conscience to submit.
> But they that king must, by his oath, assent
> To Postulatas of the Government:
> Which if he breaks, he cuts off the entail,
> And power retreats to its original.——

III

POLITICAL PAPER

THE MEMORIAL

To the K[night]s, C[itizen]s, and B[urgesse]s in P[arliamen]t assembled.

A Memorial.

From the Gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the counties of ——, in the behalf of themselves, and many thousands of the good People of England.

Gentlemen,

It were to be wished you were men of that temper, and possessed of so much honour as to bear with the truth, though it be against you: especially from us who have so much right to tell it you: but since even petitions to you from your masters (for such are the people who chose you), are so haughtily received, as with the committing the authors to illegal custody; you must give us leave to give you this fair notice of your misbehaviour, without exposing our names.

If you think fit to rectify your errors, you will do well, and possibly may hear no more of us: but if not, assure yourselves the nation will not long hide their resentments. And though there are no stated proceedings to bring you to your duty, yet the great law of reason says, and all nations allow, that whatever power is above law is burdensome and tyrannical; and may be reduced by extrajudicial methods. You are not above the People's resentments, they that made you Members, may reduce you to the same rank from whence they chose you, and may give you a taste of their abused kindness, in terms you may not be pleased with.

When the People of England assembled in convention, presented the crown to his present Majesty, they annexed a *Declaration of the Rights of the People*, in which was expressed what was illegal and arbitrary in the former reign, and what was claimed, as of right, to be done by succeeding kings of England.

In like manner, here follows, Gentlemen, a short abridgment of the nation's grievances, and of your illegal and unwarrantable practices; and a claim of right, which we make in the name of ourselves and such of the good People of England as are justly alarmed at your proceedings.

I. To raise Funds for money, and declare by borrowing clauses that whosoever advances money on those Funds, shall be reimbursed out of the next Aids, if the Funds fall short; and then give subsequent Funds

without transferring the deficiency of the former, is a horrible cheat on the subject who lent the money, a breach of public faith, and destructive to the honour and credit of Parliaments.

II. To imprison men who are not your own Members, by no proceedings but a vote of your House, and to continue them in custody *sine die* is illegal, a notorious breach of the liberty of the People, setting up a dispensing power in the House of Commons which your fathers never pretended to, bidding defiance to the Habeas Corpus Act which is the bulwark of personal liberty, destructive of the laws, and betraying the trust reposed in you. *The King, at the same time, being obliged to ask you leave, to continue in custody the horrid assassinators of his person.*

III. Committing to custody those gentlemen, who, at the command of the People (whose servants you are) and in a peaceable way, put you in mind of your duty, is illegal and injurious, destructive of the subjects' liberty of petitioning for redress of grievances; which has, by all Parliaments before you, been acknowledged to be their undoubted right.

IV. Voting a petition from the gentlemen of Kent insolent, is ridiculous and impertinent, because the freeholders of England are your superiors; and is a contradiction in itself, and a contempt of the English freedom, and contrary to the nature of parliamentary power.

V. Voting people guilty of bribery and ill-practices, and committing them as aforesaid, without bail; and then, upon submission, and kneeling to your House, discharging them, exacting exorbitant fees by your officers, is illegal; betraying the justice of the nation, selling the liberty of the subject, encouraging the extortion and villainy of jailers and officers, and discontinuing the legal prosecutions of offenders in the ordinary course of law.

VI. Prosecuting the crime of bribery in some to serve a party; and then [to] proceed no further, though proof lay before you, is partial and unjust, and a scandal upon the honour of Parliaments.

VII. Voting the Treaty of Partition "fatal to Europe, because it gave so much of the Spanish dominions to the French," and not concern yourselves to prevent their taking possession of it all; deserting the Dutch, when the French are at their doors, till it be almost too late to help them: is unjust to our treaties, and un kind to our confederates, dishonourable to the English nation, and shows you very negligent of the safety of England and of our Protestant neighbours.

VIII. Ordering immediate hearings to trifling petitions, to please parties in elections; and postpone the petition of a widow for the blood of her murdered daughter without giving it a reading; is an illegal delay of justice, dishonourable to the public justice of the nation.

IX. Addressing the King, to displace his friends upon bare surmises, before any legal trial, or article proved, is illegal, an inverting the law, and making execution go before judgment: contrary to the true sense of the law, which esteems every man a good man till something appears to the contrary.

X. Delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, to blast the reputation of the persons, without proving the fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive of the liberty of Englishmen, a delay of justice and a reproach to Parliaments.

XI. Suffering saucy and indecent reproaches upon His Majesty's person to be publicly made in your House; particularly by that impudent scandal of Parliaments, J[OH]N H[O]W[E], without showing such resentments as you ought to do. The said J[OH]N H[O]W[E] saying openly that "His Majesty had made a felonious treaty to rob his neighbours," insinuating that the Partition Treaty (which was every way as just as blowing up one man's house to save another's) "was a combination of the King to rob the Crown of Spain of its due." This is making a Billingsgate of the House, and setting up to bully your sovereign, contrary to the intent and meaning of that freedom of speech, which you claim as a right; is scandalous to Parliaments; un-

dutiful and unmannerly, and a reproach to the whole nation.

XII. Your S[peake]r exacting the exorbitant rate of £10 *per diem* for the V[ote]s, and giving the printer encouragement to raise it on the People, by selling them at 4*d.* per sheet, is an illegal and arbitrary exaction, dishonourable to the House, and burdensome to the People.

XIII. Neglecting still to pay the nation's debts, compounding for interest, and postponing petitions, is illegal, dishonourable, and destructive of the public faith.

XIV. Publicly neglecting the great work of reformation of manners, though often pressed to it by the King, to the great dishonour of God, and encouragement of vice; is a neglect of your duty, and an abuse of the trust reposed in you by God, His Majesty, and the People.

XV. Being scandalously vicious yourselves, both in your morals and religion, lewd in life and erroneous in doctrine, having public blasphemers and impudent deniers of the Divinity of our Saviour among you, and suffering them unreproved and unpunished to the infinite regret of all good Christians, and the just abhorrence of the whole nation.

Wherefore, in the sad prospect of the impending ruin of our native country, while Parliaments (which ought to be the security and defence of our laws and constitution) betray their trust, and abuse the people whom they should protect; and no other way being left us but that force which we are very loth to make use of, that posterity may know we did not insensibly fall under the tyranny of a prevailing party; We do hereby

Claim and Declare,

1. That it is the undoubted right of the People of England, in case their representatives in Parliament do not proceed according to their duty, and the People's Interest, to inform them of their dislike, disown their actions, and to direct them to such things as they think

fit, either by petition, address, proposal, memorial, or any other peaceable way.

2. That the House of Commons, separately, and otherwise than by Bill legally passed into an Act, have no legal power to suspend or dispense with the laws of the land, any more than the King has, by his prerogative.

3. That the House of Commons have no legal power to imprison any person, or commit them to custody of serjeants or otherwise, (their own members excepted ;) but ought to address the King, to cause any person, on good grounds, to be apprehended: which person, so apprehended, ought to have the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Act, and be fairly brought to trial by due course of law.

4. That if the House of Commons, in breach of the laws and liberties of the People, do betray the trust reposed in them ; and act negligently or arbitrarily and illegally : it is the undoubted right of the People of England to call them to an account for the same ; and by convention, assembly, or force, may proceed against them, as traitors and betrayers of their country.

These things we think proper to declare, as the unquestioned right of the People of England, whom you serve, and in pursuance of that right (avoiding the ceremony of petitioning our inferiors, for such you are by your present circumstances, as the person sent is less than the sender) we do publicly Protest against all your foresaid illegal actions ; and, in the name of ourselves, and of all the good People of England, do

Require and Demand,

1. That all the public just debts of the nation be forthwith paid and discharged.

2. That all persons illegally imprisoned as aforesaid, be either immediately discharged, or admitted to bail, as by law they ought to be ; and the liberty of the subject recognized and restored.

3. That J[OH]N H[O]W[E] aforesaid, be obliged to ask

His Majesty pardon for his vile reflections, or be immediately expelled the House.

4. That the growing power of France be taken into consideration, the succession of the emperor to the crown of Spain supported, our Protestant neighbours protected, as the true interest of England and the Protestant religion requires.

5. That the French King be obliged to quit Flanders, or that His Majesty be addressed to declare war against him.

6. That suitable supplies be granted to His Majesty, for the putting all these necessary things in execution, and that care be taken that such taxes as are raised, may be more equally assessed and collected, and scandalous deficiencies prevented.

7. That the thanks of the House may be given to those gentlemen, who so gallantly appeared in the behalf of their country, with the Kentish Petition, and have been so scandalously used for it.

Thus, gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentments of an injured nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments, than to a king.

Our name is Legion, and we are many.

Postscript,

If you require to have this Memorial signed with our names, it shall be done, on your first order: and *personally presented.*

IV

THE PERORATION OF THE POLITICAL SATIRE ENTITLED

THE SHORTEST WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS

(This satire is discussed at some length in the Introduction.)

PERHAPS it may be said, That the Church is in no immediate danger from the Dissenters; and therefore 'tis time enough: But this is a weak answer.

For first. If a danger be real, the distance of it is no argument against, but rather a spur to quicken us to prevention, lest it be too late hereafter.

And secondly. Here is the opportunity, and the only one perhaps, that ever the Church had to secure herself, and destroy her enemies.

The representatives of the nation have now an opportunity, the time is come, which all good men have wished for, that the gentlemen of England may serve the Church of England; now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of England Queen.

What will you do for your Sister in the day that she shall be spoken for?

If ever you will establish the best Christian Church in the world.

If ever you will suppress the spirit of enthusiasm.

If ever you will free the nation from the viperous brood that have so long sucked the blood of their Mother.

If ever you will leave your posterity free from faction and rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this heretical weed of sedition, that has so long disturbed the peace of our Church and poisoned the good corn.

"But," says another hot and cold objector, "This is renewing fire and faggot, reviving the Act, *De heretico*

comburendo: This will be cruelty in its nature, and barbarous to all the world."

I answer, 'Tis cruelty to kill a snake or a toad in cold blood, but the poison of their nature makes it a charity to our neighbours, to destroy those creatures, not for any personal injury received, but for prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do.

Serpents, toads, vipers, etc., are noxious to the body, and poison the sensitive life: these poison the soul, corrupt our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of our happiness, our future felicity, and contaminate the whole mass.

Shall any law be given to such wild creatures? Some beasts are for sport, and the huntsmen give them the advantages of ground: but some are knocked on the head, by all possible ways of violence and surprise.

I do not prescribe fire and faggot, but, as Scipio said of Carthage, *Delenda est Carthago*, they are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace, serve God, or enjoy our own: As for the manner, I leave it to those hands who have a right to execute God's justice on the nation's and the Church's enemies.

But if we must be frighted from this justice, under the specious pretences, and odious sense of cruelty; nothing will be effected: 'Twill be more barbarous to our own children and dear posterity, when they shall reproach their fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, "You had an opportunity to root out this cursed race from the world, under the favour and protection of a true English Queen; and out of your foolish pity you spared them, because, forsooth, you would not be cruel, and now our Church is suppressed and persecuted, our religion trampled underfoot, our estates plundered, our persons imprisoned, and dragged to gaols, gibbets, and scaffolds; your sparing this Amalekite race is our destruction, your mercy to them proves cruelty to your poor posterity."

How just will such reflections be, when our posterity shall fall under the merciless clutches of this uncharit-

able generation, when our Church shall be swallowed up in schism, faction, enthusiasm, and confusion; when our government shall be devolved upon foreigners, and our monarchy dwindled into a republic.

'Twould be more rational for us, if we must spare this generation, to summon our own to a general massacre, and as we have brought them into the world free, send them out so, and not betray them to destruction by our supine negligence, and then cry "It is mercy."

Moses was a merciful meek man, and yet with what fury did he run through the camp, and cut the throats of three and thirty thousand of his dear Israelites, that were fallen into idolatry; what was the reason? 'Twas mercy to the rest, to make these examples, to prevent the destruction of the whole army.

How many millions of future souls we save from infection and delusion, if the present race of poisoned spirits were purged from the face of the land.

'Tis vain to trifle in this matter, the light foolish handling of them by mulcts, fines, etc.; 'tis their glory and their advantage; if the gallows instead of the Counter, and the galleys instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle, to preach or hear, there would not be so many sufferers: The spirit of martyrdom is over; they that will go to church to be chosen sheriffs and mayors, would go to forty churches rather than be hanged.

If one severe law were made, and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a conventicle should be banished the nation, and the preacher be hanged, we should see an end of the tale: They would all come to church again, and one age would make us all one again.

To talk of five shillings a month for not coming to the sacrament, and one shilling per week, for not coming to church; this is such a way of converting people as never was known, this is selling them a liberty to transgress, for so much money: If it be not

a crime, why don't we give them full license? And if it be, no price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is selling a liberty to people to sin against God and the Government.

If it be a crime of the highest consequence, both against the peace and welfare of the nation, the glory of God, the good of the Church, and the happiness of the soul, let us rank it among capital offences, and let it receive a punishment in proportion to it.

We hang men for trifles, and banish them for things not worth naming, but that an offence against God and the Church, against the welfare of the world and the dignity of religion shall be bought off for Five Shillings; this is such a shame to a Christian Government, that 'tis with regret I transmit it to posterity.

If men sin against God, affront His ordinances, rebel against His Church, and disobey the precepts of their superiors, let them suffer as such capital crimes deserve, so will religion flourish, and this divided nation be once again united.

And yet the title of barbarous and cruel will soon be taken off from this law too. I am not supposing that all the Dissenters in England should be hanged or banished, but as in cases of rebellions and insurrections, if a few of the ringleaders suffer, the multitude are dismissed, so a few obstinate people being made examples, there's no doubt but the severity of the law would find a stop in the compliance of the multitude.

To make the reasonableness of this matter out of question, and more unanswerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this nation is divided into parties and factions, and let us see how they can justify a separation, or we of the Church of England can justify our bearing the insults and inconveniencies of the party.

One of their leading pastors, and a man of as much learning as most among them, in his answer to a pamphlet entituled *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity*, hath these words, p. 27: "Do the religion of the

Church and of the Meeting House make two religions? Wherein do they differ? The substance of the same religion is common to them both, and the modes and accidents are the things, in which only they differ." P. 28: "Thirty-nine Articles are given us for the summary of our religion: thirty-six contain the substance of it, wherein we agree, three, the additional appendices, about which we have some difference."

Now, if as, by their own acknowledgment, the Church of England is a true Church; and the difference between them is only in a few "modes and accidents": why should we expect that they will suffer gallows and galleys, corporal punishment and banishment, for these trifles? There is no question, but they will be wiser; even their own principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the laws, and with reason, and though, at the first, severity may seem hard, the next age will feel nothing of it; the contagion will be rooted out; the disease being cured, there will be no need of the operation, but if they should venture to transgress, and fall into the pit, all the world must condemn their obstinacy as being without ground from their own principles.

Thus the pretence of cruelty will be taken off, and the party actually suppressed, and the disquiets they have so often brought upon the nation, prevented.

Their numbers and their wealth make them haughty; and that is so far from being an argument to persuade us to forbear them, that 'tis a warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the unity of the Church, or remove them from us.

At present, Heaven be praised! they are not so formidable as they have been, and 'tis our own fault if ever we suffer them to be so; Providence and the Church of England seems to join in this particular, that now the destroyers of the nation's peace may be overturned, and to this end, the present opportunity seems to be put into our hands.

To this end, Her present Majesty seems reserved to

enjoy the Crown, that the ecclesiastic as well as civil rights of the nation may be restored by her hand.

To this end, the face of affairs have received such a turn in the process of a few months as never has been before; the leading men of the nation, the universal cry of the People, the unanimous request of the clergy agree in this, that the deliverance of our Church is at hand.

For this end, has Providence given us such a parliament, such a convocation, such a gentry, and such a Queen as we never had before.

And what may be the consequences of a neglect of such opportunities? The succession of the Crown has but a dark prospect, another Dutch turn may make the hopes of it ridiculous, and the practice impossible: Be the house of our future princes never so well inclined, they will be foreigners; and many years will be spent in suiting the genius of strangers to this Crown, and the interests of the nation; and how many ages it may be before the English throne be filled with so much zeal and candour, so much tenderness and hearty affection to the Church, as we see it now covered with, who can imagine?

'Tis high time, then, for the friends of the Church of England to think of building up and establishing her in such a manner, that she may be no more invaded by foreigners, nor divided by factions, schisms, and error.

If this could be done by gentle and easy methods, I should be glad, but the wound is corroded, the vitals begin to mortify, and nothing but amputation of members can complete the cure; all the ways of tenderness and compassion, all persuasive arguments have been made use of in vain.

The humour of the Dissenters has so increased among the people, that they hold the Church in defiance, and the House of God is an abomination among them: Nay, they have brought up their posterity in such pre-

possessed aversions to our holy religion, that the ignorant mob think we are all idolaters and worshippers of Baal; and account it a sin to come within the walls of our churches.

The primitive Christians were not more shy of a heathen temple, or of meat offered to idols, nor the Jews of swine's flesh, than some of our Dissenters are of the church and the Divine Service solemnized therein.

This obstinacy must be rooted out with the profession of it; while the generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and dishonour His holy worship, we are wanting in our duty to God, and our Mother the Church of England.

How can we answer it to God, to the Church, and to our posterity, to leave them entangled with fanaticism, error, and obstinacy, in the bowels of the nation; to leave them an enemy in their streets, that in time may involve them in the same crimes, and endanger the utter extirpation of religion in the nation.

What's the difference betwixt this, and being subjected to the power of the Church of Rome, from whence we have reformed? If one be an extreme on one hand, and one on another, 'tis equally destructive to the Truth to have errors settled among us, let them be of what nature they will.

Both are enemies of our Church, and of our peace, and why should it not be as criminal to admit an Enthusiast as a Jesuit? Why should the Papist with his seven sacraments be worse than the Quaker with no sacraments at all? Why should religious houses be more intolerable than meeting houses? Alas, the Church of England! What with Popery on one hand, and Schismatics on the other, how has she been crucified between two thieves.

Now, *let us crucify the thieves!* Let her foundations be established upon the destruction of her enemies: The doors of Mercy being always open to the returning part of the deluded people, let the obstinate be ruled with the rod of iron.

Let all true sons of so holy and oppressed a Mother,

exasperated by her afflictions, harden their hearts against those who have oppressed her.

And may God Almighty put it into the hearts of all the friends of Truth, to lift up a standard against Pride and Antichrist, that the posterity of the sons of Error may be rooted out from the face of this land for ever!

FINIS

V

THE POLITICAL VERSES ENTITLED

A HYMN TO THE PILLORY

written for distribution among the mob on the occasion of his punishment in the pillory, as described in the Introduction.

Hail hieroglyphic State Machine,
Contrived to punish Fancy in:
Men, that are men, in thee can feel no pain;
And all thy insignificants disdain.
Contempt, that false new word for Shame,
Is without crime an empty name!
A Shadow to amuse mankind;
But never frights the wise or well-fixed mind:
Virtue despises human scorn,
And scandals Innocence adorn.

Exalted on thy Stool of State,
What prospect do I see of sovereign Fate;
How the inscrutables of Providence,
Differ from our contracted sense;
Here, by the errors of the Town,
The fools look out and knaves look on!
Persons or Crimes find here the same respect;
And Vice does Virtue oft correct,

The undistinguished fury of the street,
With mob and malice, mankind greet:
No bias can the rabble draw;
But Dirt throws dirt, without respect to Merit or to Law.

Sometimes, the air of Scandal to maintain,
Villains look from thy lofty Loops in vain:
But who can judge of Crimes, by Punishment,
Where Parties rule, and L[aw]'s subservient?
Justice, with change of Interest learns to bow;
And what was Merit once, is Murder now:
Actions receive their tincture from the Times,
And as they change, are Virtues made, or Crimes.
Thou art the State-Trap of the law,
But neither canst keep knaves, nor honest men in awe:
These are too hardened in offence,
And those upheld by innocence.

How have thy opening Vacancies received
In every Age, the criminals of State?
And how has Mankind been deceived,
When they distinguish crimes by fate?
Tell us, Great Engine, how to understand
Or reconcile the Justice of the land;
How Bastwick, Prynne, Hunt, Hollingsby, and Pye,
Men of unspotted honesty;
Men that had Learning, Wit, and Sense,
And more than most men have had since,
Could equal title to thee claim,
With Oates and Fuller, men of later fame:
Even the learned Selden saw
A prospect of thee, through the law:
He had thy lofty Pinnacles in view,
But so much honour never was thy due:
Had the great Selden triumphed on thy stage,
Selden, the honour of his Age,
No man would ever shun thee more,
Or grudge to stand where Selden stood before.

Thou art no Shame to Truth and Honesty,
Nor is the character of such defaced by thee,
Who suffer by oppressive injury.
Shame, like the exhalations of the sun,
Falls back where first the motion was begun.
And he who, for no crime shall on thy Brows appear,
Bears less reproach than they who placed him there.

But if Contempt is on thy Face entailed,
Disgrace itself shall be ashamed;
Scandal shall blush, that it has not prevailed
To blast the man it has defamed.
Let all that merit equal punishment,
Stand there with him, and we are all content.

There would the famed S[ACHEVERE]LL stand,
With trumpet of sedition in his hand,
Sounding the first *Crusado* in the land.
He, from a Church of England pulpit first
All his Dissenting brethren curst;
Doomed them to SATAN for a prey;
And first found out *The Shortest Way;*
With him, the wise Vice-Chancellor of the Press,
Who, though our Printers licenses defy,
Willing to show his forwardness,
Blessed it with his authority;
He gave the Church's sanction to the Work,
As Popes bless colours for troops which fight the Turk.
Doctors in Scandal, these are grown,
For red-hot Zeal and furious Learning known:
Professors in Reproach and highly fit,
For Juno's Academy, Billingsgate.
Thou, like a *True-born English* tool,
Hast from their Composition stole,
And now art like to smart, for being a fool:
And as of English men, 'twas always meant,
They're better to improve, than to invent;
Upon their model, thou hast made
A Monster makes the World afraid.

With them, let all the Statesmen stand,
Who guide us with unsteady hand :
Who armies, fleets, and men betray
And ruin all, *The Shortest Way*.
Let all those soldiers stand in sight,
Who're willing to be paid, and not to fight.
Agents and Colonels, who false musters bring,
To cheat their country first, and then, their King :
Bring all your coward Captains of the fleet ;
Lord ! what a crowd will there be, when they meet?

They who let POINTI 'scape to Brest,
Who all the gods of Carthagena blest.
Those who betrayed our Turkey Fleet,
Or injured TALMASH sold at Camaret.
Who missed the squadron from Toulon,
And always came too late, or else too soon ;
All these are heroes whose great actions claim
Immortal honours to their dying fame ;
And ought not to have been denied
On thy great Counterscarp, to have their valour tried.

Why have not these, upon thy swelling Stage,
Tasted the keener justice of the Age ;
If 'tis because their crimes are too remote,
Whom leaden-footed Justice has forgot ;
Let's view the modern scenes of fame,
If Men and Management are not the same ;
When fleets go out with money and with men,
Just time enough to venture home again.
Navies prepared to guard the insulted coast ;
And convoys settled, when our ships are lost.
Some heroes lately come from sea,
If they were paid their due, should stand with thee ;
Papers too should their deeds relate
To prove the justice of their fate.
Their deeds of war, at Port St. Mary's done ;
And set the Trophies by them, which they won :
Let OR[MON]D's *Declaration* there appear,
He'd certainly be pleased to see them there.

Let some good limner represent
The ravished nuns, the plundered town,
The English honour now misspent;
The shameful coming back, and little done!

The Vigo men should next appear
To triumph on thy Theatre;
They who, on board the great Galoons had been,
Who robbed the Spaniards first, and then the Queen:
Set up the praises, to their valour due;
How Eighty Sail had beaten Twenty-two.
Two troopers so, and one dragoon
Conquered a Spanish boy at Pampelune.
Yet let them Or[mon]d's conduct own,
Who beat them first on shore, or little had been done:
What unknown spoils from thence are come,
How much was brought away; how little, home.
If all the thieves should on thy Scaffold stand
Who robbed their masters in Command;
The multitude would soon outdo
The City crowds of Lord Mayor's Show.

Upon thy Penitential Stools,
Some people should be placed, for fools:
As some, for instance, who, while they look on,
See others plunder all, and they get none.
Next the Lieutenant General,
To get the Devil, lost the De'il and all:
And he, some little badge should bear
Who ought, in justice, to have hanged them there:
This had his honour more maintained
Than all the spoils at Vigo gained.

Then clap thy wooden Wings for joy,
And greet the Men of Great Employ!
The authors of the Nation's discontent,
And scandal of a Christian Government.
Jobbers, and Brokers of the City Stocks,
With forty thousand tallies at their backs;
Who make our Banks and Companies obey,
Or sink them all *The Shortest Way*.

The intrinsic value of our Stocks
Is stated in their calculating books,
The imaginary prizes rise and fall
As they command who toss the ball;
Let them upon thy lofty Turrets stand,
With bear-skins on the back, Debentures in the hand!
And write in capitals upon the post,
That here they should remain
Till this enigma they explain:
How Stocks should fall, when Sales surmount the cost;
And rise again when ships are lost.

Great Monster of the Law, exalt thy head;
Appear no more in masquerade,
In homely phrase, express thy discontent,
And move it in the approaching Parliament:
Tell them, how Paper went, instead of Coin;
With interest Eight per cent., and discount Nine.
Of Irish transport debts unpaid,
Bills false endorsed, and long accounts unmade.
And tell them all the Nation hopes to see,
They'll send the guilty down to thee;
Rather than those who write their history.

Then bring those Justices upon thy bench,
Who vilely break the Laws they should defend;
And upon Equity intrench
By punishing the crimes they will not mend.
Set every vicious Magistrate
Upon thy sumptuous Chariot of the State;
There, let them all in triumph ride,
Their purple and their scarlet laid aside.
Let no such Bridewell Justices protect,
As first debauch the Whores which they correct:
Such who with oaths and drunk'ness sit,
And punish far less crimes than they commit:
These, certainly, deserve to stand,
With Trophies of Authority in either hand.

Upon thy Pulpit, set the drunken Priest,
Who turns the Gospel to a daily jest;

Let the Fraternity degrade him there,
Lest they like him appear:
There let him his *memento mori* preach,
And by example, not by doctrine, teach.

* * * * * * *

If a poor Author has embraced thy Wood,
Only because he was not understood;
They punish Mankind but by halves,
Till they stand there,
Who false to their own principles appear;
And cannot understand themselves.
Those Nimshites, who with furious zeal drive on,
And build up Rome to pull down Babylon;
The real Authors of *The Shortest Way*,
Who for destruction, not conversion pray:
There let those Sons of Strife remain,
Till this Church Riddle they explain;
How at Dissenters they can raise a storm,
But would not have them all conform;
For there, their certain ruin would come in,
And Moderation, which they hate, begin.
Some Churchmen next should grace thy Pews,
Who talk of Loyalty they never use:
Passive Obedience well becomes thy Stage,
For both have been the Banter of the Age.
Get them but once within thy reach,
Thou'lt make them practise what they used to teach.

Next bring some Lawyers to thy Bar,
By innuendo, they might all stand there;
There let them expiate that guilt,
And pay for all that blood their tongues have spilt;
These are the Mountebanks of State,
Why, by the slight of tongue, can crimes create,
And dress up trifles in the robes of Fate.
The Mastiffs of a Government,
To worry and run down the innocent;
The Engines of infernal Wit,
Covered with cunning and deceit:

Satan's sublimest attribute they use,
For first they tempt, and then accuse;
No vows or promises can bind their hands,
Submissive Law obedient stands:
When Power concurs, and lawless Force stands by,
He's lunatic that looks for Honesty.

There sat a man of mighty fame,
Whose actions speak him plainer than his name;
In vain he struggled, he harangued in vain,
To bring in Whipping sentences again:
And to debauch a milder Government,
With *abdicated* kinds of punishment.
No wonder he should Law despise,
Who Jesus Christ Himself denies;
His actions only now direct,
What we when he is made a Judge expect:
Set L[ove]ll next to his Disgrace
With Whitney's horses staring in his face;
There let his Cup of Penance be kept full,
Till he's less noisy, insolent, and dull.

When all these heroes have passed o'er thy Stage,
And thou hast been the Satire of the Age;
Wait then a while, for all those Sons of Fame,
Whom present Power has made too great to name:
Fenced from thy Hands, they keep our Verse in awe,
Too great for Satire, and too great for Law.
As they their Commands lay down,
They all shall pay their homage to thy Cloudy Throne:
And till within thy reach they be,
Exalt them in effigy.

The martyrs of the by-past reign,
For whom new Oaths have been prepared in vain;
She[rloc]k's disciple, first by him trepanned,
He for a k[nave], and they for f[ool]s should stand.
Though some affirm he ought to be excused,
Since to this day, he had refused;

And this was all the frailty of his life,
He damn'd his conscience, to oblige his wife.
But spare that Priest, whose tottering conscience knew
That if he took but one, he'd perjure two ;
Bluntly resolved he would not break them both,
And swore, by G[o]d he'd never take the Oath ;
Hang him, he can't be fit for thee,
For his unusual honesty.

Thou Speaking Trumpet of men's fame,
Enter in every Court thy claim ;
Demand them all, for they are all thy own,
Who swear to three Kings, but are true to none.
Turn-coats of all sides are thy due,
And he who once is false is never true :
To-day can swear, to-morrow can abjure ;
For Treachery's a crime no man can cure.
Such, without scruple, for the Time to come,
May swear to all the Kings in Christendom ;
But he's a mad man will rely
Upon their lost fidelity.

They that, in vast employments rob the State,
Let them in thy Embraces, meet their fate ;
Let not the millions, they by fraud obtain
Protect them from the scandal, or the pain :
They who from mean beginnings grow
To vast estates, but God knows how ;
Who carry untold sums away
From little Places, with but little pay :
Who costly palaces erect,
The thieves that built them to protect :
The gardens, grottoes, fountains, walks, and groves
Where Vice triumphs in pride, and lawless loves ;
Where mighty luxury and drunk'ness reigned,
Profusely spend what they profanely gained :
Tell them, their *Mene Tekel*'s on the wall,
Tell them, the nation's money paid for all.

Advance thy double Front, and show,
And let us both the Crimes and Persons know :

Place them aloft upon thy Throne,
Who slight the nation's business for their own ;
Neglect their posts, in spite of double pay,
And run us all in debt *The Shortest Way.*

* * * * * * *

What need of Satire to reform the Town?
Or Laws to keep our vices down?
Let them to Thee due homage pay,
This will reform us all *The Shortest Way.*
Let them to thee, bring all the knaves and fools,
Virtue will guide the rest by rules ;
They'll need no treacherous friends, no breach of faith,
No hired evidence with their infecting breath ;
No servants masters to betray,
Or Knights of the Post, who swear for pay ;
No injured Author'll on thy steps appear,
Not such as *wou'd* be rogues, but such as *are.*

The first Intent of Laws
Was to correct the Effect, and check the Cause ;
And all the Ends of Punishment,
Were only future mischiefs to prevent.
But Justice is inverted when
Those Engines of the Law,
Instead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honest ones in awe ;
Thy business is, as all men know,
To punish villains, not to make men so.

Whenever then, thou art prepared
To prompt that vice, thou should'st reward,
And by the terrors of thy grisly Face
Make men turn rogues to shun disgrace ;
The End of thy Creation is destroyed ;
Justice expires of course, and Law's made void.

What are thy terrors? that, for fear of thee,
Mankind should dare to sink their honesty?
He's bold to impudence that dare turn knave,
The scandal of thy company to save :

He that will crimes he never knew confess,
Does, more than if he know those crimes, transgress:
And he that fears thee, more than to be base;
May want a heart, but does not want a face.

Thou, like the Devil dost appear,
Blacker than really thou art, by far:
A wild chimeric notion of Reproach;
Too little for a crime, for none too much.
Let none th' indignity resent;
For Crime is all the shame of Punishment.

Thou Bugbear of the Law stand up and speak,
Thy long misconstrued silence break,
Tell us, who 'tis, upon thy Ridge stands there,
So full of fault, and yet so void of fear;
And from the Paper in his hat,
Let all mankind be told for what:

Tell them it was because he was too bold,
And told those truths which should not have been told.
Extol the Justice of the land,
Who punish what they will not understand.
Tell them he stands exalted there
For speaking what we would not hear;
And yet he might have been secure,
Had he said less, or would he have said more.
Tell them that this is his reward,
And worse is yet for him prepared,
Because his foolish virtue was so nice,
As not to sell his friends, according to his friends' advice.

And thus he's an example made,
To make men of their honesty afraid;
That for the Time to come, they may
More willingly, their friends betray;

Tell them, the men that placed him here,
Are sc[anda]ls to the Times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes.

FINIS

VI

FOUR PAPERS SELECTED FROM THE PERIODICAL ENTITLED

A REVIEW

(From Vol. II, No. 54, July 7, 1705.)

It would really be too much satire upon the gentlemen of the other side, if I should only publish their own letters to me upon the subject; some that are merely diverting, I may give the world a sight of; but some that are villainous and base, I conceal for the sake of that peace I would fain move them to by my example.

'Twould even reflect upon the nation in general, if I should give the particulars of about 20 to 30 letters, most of which threaten my life, and the world might think England coming into the mode of Italy. Indeed we have seen too much of this method lately, and justice seems to wait but a few weeks to make a sad example from a set of assassinators, the murderers of the Scotsman of Queenborough.

To all the gentlemen who are so exceeding angry at me for inviting them to peace, as to threaten my throat, and the like, I make this serious request, Let them step to Maidstone Gaol, and there discourse a little with their brother murderers; and if their condition pleases them, let them follow their steps if they can.

Indeed, gentlemen, the mean despicable author of this paper, is not worth your attempting his correction

at the price; gaols, fetters, and gibbets, are odd melancholy things; for a gentleman to dangle out of the world in a string, has something so ugly, so awkward, and so disagreeable in it, that you cannot think of it without some regret, and then the reflection will be very harsh, that this was for killing a poor mortified author, one that the Government had killed before. It can never be worth your while, gentlemen, and therefore he hopes you will content yourselves with telling him so, and let him alone to time and age, which is hastening upon us all, and will certainly at last do the work to your hand.

Presuming upon the prevalency of these arguments, and the sovereignty of your reason as men, your religion as Protestants, and your native generosity of temper, as Englishmen.

I move about the world unguarded and unarmed, a little stick not strong enough to correct a dog, supplies the place of Mr. O[bservato]r's great oaken-towel, a sword sometimes perhaps for decency, but it is all harmless to a mere nothing; can do no hurt anywhere but just at the tip of it, called the point——And what's that in the hand of a feeble author?

Let him alone, gentlemen, and have patience, you'll all come to be of his mind ere long; and then if you had killed him you would have been sorry for it.

The days are at hand, I doubt, when you will all own, he that persuaded you to peace was in the right of it, and that having despised peace at home, God Almighty in mercy to you, will deny you peace abroad.

I can much easier jest with the impotent rage of the enemies, to the public peace, threatening to kill me, than I can with the serious and sad apprehensions I receive from a protracted war, from broken measures, backward preparations, uncertain confederates, and the like.

And yet this bullying method is not the only treatment the author of this has to complain of——But now he has had a storm of a more scandalous assassination,

studying to ruin and embroil him; crowds of sham actions, arrests, sleeping debates in trade of 17 years' standing revived; debts put in suit after contracts and agreements under hand and seal; and which is worse, writs taken out for debts, without the knowledge of the creditor, and some after the creditor has been paid; diligent solicitations of persons not inclined to sue, pressing them to give him trouble; others offering to buy assignments of debts, that they might be sued; for others to turn setters and informers to betray him into the hands of trouble; collateral bonds sued, where the securities have been resigned and accepted.

It would take up too much of the reader's time, to trouble the world with the barbarous treatment shown a man just stripped naked by the Government; 'tis like suing a man just ransomed from Algiers; and could I descend to particulars, would be too moving to be read.

That this is all for the party; that this is a pique at the subject, as well as the author; speak conscience and tell us, Why were none of these things done before?

Under all these designed mischiefs, a diligent report has been raised, That this unhappy author was carried to Newgate, and some have been so kind to go thither to visit him.

Ill tongues may do much; but I cannot but tell a certain gentleman, who has offered 100*l.* to have it so, that it will hardly be in his power to effect it.

Pardon me, gentlemen, to inquire into the impotence of this malice, a gaol would not check this paper. Perhaps, if you could bring it to pass, it might furnish me with leisure to perform it better.

To those whose designs are different, they may see who they gratify; and I appeal to all the world, What in this Paper has merited this persecution?

Were all the prosecutions legal, debts just, and circumstances requiring, yet really, gentlemen, when you reflect in what hands he has been in, 'tis something barbarous, common compassion leads men to bear

with men, whose houses have been burned, or who by public disaster are disabled ; if his house has not been burned it has been plundered.

Will you have no compassion? Well, gentlemen, this must all they expect, who presume to venture in plainness and without flattery to tell men their crimes ; neither will all this restrain his pen from writing, the truth depending upon it ; that the author of that truth, will one time or other, own at least the work, if not the unworthy author.

Suits at law, gaol, murder, assassination, and all that malice can contrive, are therefore without their influence on me ; I avoid the first, and contemn the last ; the law, I trust, will protect me from the first ; and I freely run the venture of the last, and so proceed to the next method, now taking with me—and that is banter, raillery and reflection.

And what good does all this scribbling do, says one, you had as good let it alone? And whereas you pretend much of the public service being the end, and you would not write but for the public service ; since there is no public service in it, pray show your sincerity by laying it down.

The difficulty here lies in what we shall understand by the public service, and doing good.

I understand persuading us all to be at peace with one another, to be a public service, and doing good. These gentlemen perhaps understand it another way, I am sorry for them ; without doubt, they that believe intestine discords, civil dissension, strife and oppression, the needful help to this nation's happiness, differ from me, and I from them, and I doubt shall always do so.

If I am mistaken in the subject, I ought to be convinced, that peace and union is not for the public good ; that 'tis better for us to be pulling one another to pieces, tearing and destroying one another, and the like.

Now, if these gentlemen will undertake to prove that laws for persecution of Dissenters, feuds and

breaches in the Legislature, invading privileges, heats, animosities and violence of parties, are particularly for the public service, and help to the public good :

If they will make it out, that delaying supplies, and retarding preparations, wounding public credit, and weakening our hands, would be particularly encouraging to our confederates abroad, and support better the Protestant cause :

If they can prove, that quarrels, heats, feuds, and dangerous experiments, will help us to beat the French ; that being divided at home, we shall be the better prepared to defend ourselves against invasion from abroad :

If they can demonstrate, that to be all to pieces in our civil interests, is the best method to deprive the parties abroad of all hopes that their cause will one day or other be revived among us ; that 'tis *The Shortest Way* to close all their expectations ; that while we are jangling and clashing, writing and fighting in parties at home, it will effectually foreclose the French in their designs of universal monarchy, and sink their expectation of reducing us by force :

If these things can be made out, I confess I shall be in the dark, and will immediately acknowledge I am in a strange mistake, that all my notions of things are wrong, that I have received false ideas of the public affairs ; for indeed I did not know that when our Lord said, "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand," that the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were excepted out of the general rule, with a *cujus contrarium verum est.*

Now as I am, and always shall be ready to receive, and freely accept the informations of men, more knowing than myself, I am in daily expectation of something very considerable upon this subject, which will make out these enigmas, unriddle all this mystery, and prove that Her Majesty was mistaken in her speech for peace and union, that we are all wrong in our construction of the text above ; and so by consequence, that I am the Lord knows what of an incen-

diary, a Jacobite, and a public enemy to the nation, and when this comes, I am content to be called so.

(From Vol. III, No. 137, Nov. 16, 1706.)

The remoteness of the author, 'tis hoped, will plead an excuse to the world, for his no sooner publishing this his vindication.

As nothing has been more villainous, than the treatment the author of this paper has met with from the news-letter-writers of the town; so 'tis most remarkable, that these attacks have been made upon me when absent from the town, and not at hand to answer for or defend myself.

And I cannot but tell a short story of this, to remind the world with what barbarity I have been used on this account. 'Tis not two years since, being at Bury in Suffolk, and going into a coffee-house there to read the news, I found to my surprise an account, that sundry persons were taken up in London for scandalous libels, that warrants were out for Daniel De Foe, but he was fled from justice—I cannot deny, but I was moved at this barbarity, and inquiring who was the author of that letter, I was told, it was one Mr. Fox, a bookseller in Westminster Hall, to whom I have however been so civil, that I gave him no trouble on that score, which I might well have done, having, I think, very good proof of it, which he may improve how he pleases.

On reading this, I took immediately a pen and ink, and wrote under the paragraph these words, viz. *This is a d——d lie, for* Daniel De Foe *is now in this town, and at such a house, where any man that pleases may speak with him*—And that I might discharge myself honourably, I wrote immediately to the Right Honourable Sir Charles Hedges, Secretary of State, to acquaint him where I was; and that if there was any complaint against me, and he would please to signify his pleasure to me by letter, that it was needful for me to appear, I would take post immediately and put myself into his hands; and I make no question, but Mr. Secretary

Hedges will on all occasions do me justice on this account.

'Tis not worth while to hint here the barbarous treatment of a certain messenger, who all that while gave out, he was in search of me, and wanted to apprehend me; to whom when I came to town, I sent to know if he had any business with me, and that if he had, I was come, and would meet him where he pleased, and he owned, he had nothing to say to me, nor any order to stop me; but to name the man would be an answer to that.

All this is introductory to the history of my present treatment; being not only at present out of the town, but out of the kingdom, pursuing my private lawful and known design of settling my family abroad, and letting the world know I do not live by scribbling, as is suggested.

And the first compliment I met with was in Mr. Dyer's letter, that I had, in one of my *Reviews*, abused a certain eminent and honourable person: I really took this for so empty a slander, that I could not have the least shadow of uneasiness about it, knowing my self so free, so much as in thought, from ever having said anything reflecting on that eminent and worthy person, that no man in England has more honour for his character, real veneration for his exalted merit, or true respect for his person, than myself.

I was therefore the more surprised, when I had notice, that the publisher of this paper has been taken up, and held to bail on this account.

I really reckon his lordship a glory to this nation, an honour to the bench, and that great part of the happiness England enjoys by the revolution, in being restored to just judges, is exemplified in his lordship's unbiassed justice, steady courage and consummate experience.

I am so far from saying this to flatter or make fair weather in this case, that I can call a thousand witnesses to prove, it has always been my opinion; and as his lordship is above my flattery, so am I, asking

pardon for the word, so far above the fear of man, as not to flatter the greatest man alive.

But in plainness and regard to justice, I make this protestation, that in the *Review* which is now excepted against, I had no thoughts of that worthy person—— Nor in anything I ever wrote, have I made any dishonourable mention of him, or reflection upon him, or intended to do so.

As to what I have hinted of a certain person of honour making a popular speech, seeming to applaud, but understood to be a banter upon the Union, or of anything else in the said *Review;* I only beg, that being at this time out of England, no advantages against printers or publishers may be taken for want of my appearing, they being innocent persons in this case; and I shall not fail to offer myself, if it please God to bring me back to England again, to justice; and satisfy his lordship, that I was far from having the least design of reflecting upon him in it.

(From Vol. IV, No. 169, March 11, 1707–8.)

We are now as full of the French fitting out their Squadron at Dunkirk, as we were formerly of the Siege of Toulon, and everybody spending their verdict upon them—But above all, commend me to a sort of people, that are mighty mercurial upon the subject.

"The French a-coming!" says a famous fighting Alderman, *cujus contrarium, &c.* "Ah, would they would come, would we had 20,000 of them safe ashore, I warrant you, they'd wish themselves at home again. We'd teach them what it was to come among us, we'd show them what it was to fight with Englishmen——" "No, God forbid," says a citizen that stood by, and so the dialogue began.

Ald. "God forbid"! Why God forbid? D'ye think we could not deal with them, d'ye think all England could not beat 20,000 Frenchmen? I warrant ye, we'd maul them.

Cit. Yes, Mr. Alderman, if we were all as good soldiers as your worship; but I don't desire to have them come hither for all that.

Ald. You don't desire it! You are a fool; do you think it would not be a great loss to the enemy to lose 20,000 men at this time of day?

Cit. I don't pretend to be as wise as an alderman, sir, but your worship need not call me fool neither. I don't examine what loss it would be to the French to lose 20,000 men, but I know what a loss we should suffer, before we got them all killed here.

Ald. Why, prithee man, our very country people would eat them up.

Cit. Indeed, sir, I did not know our country people could eat Frenchmen; they must be woundy hungry sure, before they fed upon such gross diet.

Ald. I mean allegorically, man; I don't mean eat their flesh.

Cit. I thought so, sir, but I mean literally they would eat a great deal of our flesh, before we could come to look them in the face; I mean our cow-flesh, and sheep-flesh, our country's subsistence——Pray, where would your worship have them land?

Ald. In the West of England, about where King William landed.

Cit. Devonshire, etc. is very much obliged to your worship; and (1) how long might 20,000 men ravage Devonshire, Cornwall, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, before our train-bands could fight them? (2) How long would it be before an army of regular troops could be drawn down to fight them?

Ald. Oh presently, presently, in less than a month's time we would face them with 10,000 men, and cut them all to pieces.

Cit. Thank your worship; so Devonshire, etc. is by your own rule left at the mercy of a French army a whole month. Pray, was your worship ever in the Palatinate?

Ald. No, not I.

Cit. Then I have, may it please your worship, and there is still to be seen the remains of the devastation a French army made in less than 20 days, in one of the pleasantest countries in all Germany, the city of Heidelberg, and the fine palace looks like old Sarum, or the town of Winchelsea; if your worship saw them, a mere ruin, poverty and misery covers the face of the whole country; the poor people look as if they had been haunted with spectres, and many ages will not recover the ravages of the French, or put that country into its former flourishing condition; Devonshire and the West would pay dear for your worship's experiment.

Ald. Prithee, thou dost not know Devonshire; dost know, 'tis one of the most populous counties in England, and all the people would rise as one man, and fall upon them immediately, knock them all on the head, and never give them time to steal mutton?

Cit. Excellent good, if it were done as soon as said! Pray, can your worship give me one instance in history, or name the time, whenever 20,000 disciplined troops were beaten by the militia of any country in the world?

Ald. What do you tell me of history and other countries? These people are Englishmen, I tell thee, and they are Frenchmen; I tell thee, man, they'll knock 'em o' th' head like dogs——I would we had them safe ashore——We'd maul them——

(From Vol. V, No. 136, Feb. 8, 1708–9.)

I AM now examining, what has and has not been done since 1684, towards the curing the great evil of trade, to which this nation is peculiarly subjected, I mean the cruelty of creditors, and the knavery of debtors. I named you one Act; I shall have occasion to return to it again——The next I meet with, of any signification

passed in the year 1695, enacting that any agreement between the debtor and creditor should be binding to all, where two-thirds of the said creditors in numbers and value subscribed to such agreement.

This, as leaving it pretty much in the power of the creditors, whether to give their debtors liberty or no, without inquiring into the merits of the cause, was not much opposed, and it will be worth observing in the process of this story; that all along through all the attempts which have been since made to obtain some stated period to be put to the creditors' fury, the end of all their opposition has been singly this, to leave the debtor entirely at mercy; as far as any act has or has not done this, so far they have or have not opposed it; and this is the only thing will ever make them easy—To have the debtor be for ever left at the discretion of the creditor, a mere subject of his mercy, and what that mercy has amounted to, let the many funerals from our common gaols, after miserable starving them with cold and hunger, the crowds of languishing debtors now caged up, like beasts, men of good families and fortunes in the world, that have been bred tenderly, have lived handsomely: I say, let these testify, who experience the mercy of creditors every day in the extremest severities, lying on the naked floors without fuel or covering, and perhaps without food in the late violent cold, poisoned with stench, and stabbed to the heart with the wretched company and place, promiscuously mingled with murderers, thieves and traitors, whose better case gets a frequent deliverance by the gallows—But these have no end to their miseries, no view of deliverance, but in that mercy of the creditor which is not to be had, and who insolently triumphs in their distresses.

No wonder, men spend the little remainders of what they have in the world, and with which creditors should be satisfied, in all the arts and shifts to keep themselves out of this wretched condition. No wonder they fly to mints and rules, and seek sanctuary under the keys of gaolers, with precarious half-in-half liberty

they purchase with their creditors' money, as long as it lasts—Though these places are lurking holes for thieves, and are scandals to the nation, yet while the cruelty of the creditor is thus unlimited, no man can blame the distressed debtor for taking shelter among rogues; the hunted hare finding no safety behind her, when the bloody hounds are at her heels, will run into the arms of another that did not pursue her, though she meets her death there also. Men on board a ship on fire will leap into the water, and it is most natural to man to shun the nearest evil, and choose that which is most remote.

From whence I cannot but note, and shall speak to it more largely hereafter; The only way to root out of the nation, that hitherto incurable grievance of the Mint and Rules, and such privileged places, which I have nothing at all to say for, is this; Make but some sanctuary, some refuge, some door of deliverance for the honest indigent debtor to fly to, when he is stripped naked by the creditors, and at which he may escape from the torture of a prison, that languishing, slow fire that consumes the vitals, breaks the stoutest courage, and is tenfold worse than the gallows: Let there be but some certain deliverance for his life, when he has honestly parted with all his goods, you must effectually destroy all those wicked places, they will grow every day more and more odious, an honest man will have no need of them, for he will find his safety in the arms of his creditors—No man that has any remains of a principle will fly *from* his creditors, if he can fly *to them.* The Mint and Rules must be shelters and sanctuaries of none but villains, who ought to be taken from the horns of the altar; nay, they will be no refuge at all, an honest man will blush to be seen there, and a knave all men will join to fetch out from thence——'Tis want of safety, being annexed to honesty, makes honest men turn rogues.

To say an honest man will not turn knave, is a vulgar error; if you take knavery in the present common acceptation of it, every man will turn knave so, the

honestest man in the world will eat his neighbour's loaf if it be in his cupboard, rather than perish; and even the Scripture bids us not despise such a thief, who steals to satisfy his hunger; not that the man is less a thief, but despise him not, you that know not what hunger is; for if you were driven to the same extremity, the honestest man among you would steal also. There are some distresses in the world, which human nature is not qualified to bear: and this is one. The honestest man in the world, if driven to extremity, will not eat his neighbour's loaf only, but he will eat his neighbour himself, if he is put to it, aye and say grace to the feast, as has been known. God deliver every honest man from the extremities, that put so severe a trial upon his honesty, and in the meantime the sense of this human frailty ought to lead every man to the rule, "Despise not the thief, etc." "He that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall, etc."

In like manner, gentlemen, shall I turn the text to the purpose. I dare say, you will allow it will bear it; despise not the man who flies to the Mint or the Rules to preserve himself from a gaol—Despise not the man, who uses any shift to keep himself out of a dead warrant's hand, out of a perpetual prison. Thirst of liberty and hunger for food are exactly synonymous in this case; if a man have the firmest resolution to pay to his creditor the utmost farthing, or the utmost he is able, but is pushed at by their cruelty, refusing to accept his utmost offers, but are hunting him out with arrests, executions, murdering warrants, and the like. Can anybody blame this man for keeping in places of security to shelter himself? Can anybody blame this man for preserving himself from death, and his family from perishing, though it be at the cost of his creditors?

It is you creditors, inexorable, inhuman and unpersuadable creditors, that are the supporters of the Mint and Rules; come but to a certainty with men, that when they fall into your hands, they shall not be murdered, and every honest man will put himself into your hands; but when you set up for mere barbarity,

you drive men from you, then you hunt them with bloodhounds, and terrify them with escape-warrants, which are worse to a man of spirit than present death, and away they fly into the worst place in the world for shelter, like the hare that is hunted, runs into the hand of her enemy.

If therefore you would pull down the Mint, Rules, etc. this is the way: Give the honest man a shelter in the protection of the law, he will always fly to you; nothing but villains, thieves, and public cheats will fly to the Mint, &c. and all the well-meaning part of the nation will join in destroying those places, as sanctuaries of a kind of people, that no government ought to protect.

VII

FROM THE SHREWD PAMPHLET ENTITLED

GIVING ALMS NO CHARITY (1704)

A paper in which Defoe considers much such a state of things as confronts us now.

'Tis generally said the English get estates, and the Dutch save them; and this observation I have made between foreigners and Englishmen, that where an Englishman earns 20*s.* per week, and but just lives, as we call it, a Dutchman grows rich, and leaves his children in very good condition; where an English labouring man with his 9*s.* per week lives wretchedly and poor, a Dutchman with that wages will live very tolerably well, keep the wolf from the door, and have everything handsome about him. In short, he will be rich with the same gain as makes the Englishman poor, he'll thrive when the other goes in rags, and he'll live when the other starves, or goes a-begging.

The reason is plain; a man with good husbandry, and thought in his head, brings home his earnings honestly to his family, commits it to the management of his wife, or otherwise disposes it for proper subsistence, and this man with mean gains lives comfortably, and brings up a family, when a single man getting the same wages, drinks it away at the alehouse, thinks not of to-morrow, lays up nothing for sickness, age, or disaster, and when any of these happen he's starved, and a beggar.

This is so apparent in every place, that I think it needs no explication; that English labouring people eat and drink, but especially the latter three times as much in value as any sort of foreigners of the same dimensions in the world.

I am not writing this as a satire on our people, 'tis a sad truth, and worthy the debate and application of the nation's physicians assembled in Parliament, the profuse extravagant humour of our poor people in eating and drinking, keeps them low, causes their children to be left naked and starving, to the care of the parishes, whenever either sickness or disaster befalls the parent.

The next article is their sloth.

We are the most *lazy diligent* nation in the world, vast trade, rich manufactures, mighty wealth, universal correspondence and happy success has been constant companions of England, and given us the title of an industrious people, and so in general we are.

But there is a general taint of slothfulness upon our poor; there's nothing more frequent, than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, *or perhaps drunk*, till 'tis all gone, and perhaps himself in debt; and ask him in his cups what he intends, he'll tell you honestly, he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more.

I humbly suggest this distemper's so general, so epidemic, and so deep rooted in the nature and

genius of the English, that I much doubt its being easily redressed, and question whether it be possible to reach it by an Act of Parliament.

This is the ruin of our poor, the wife mourns, the children starves, the husband has work before him, but lies at the alehouse, or otherwise idles away his time, and won't work.

'Tis the men that *won't work*, not the men that *can get no work*, which makes the numbers of our Poor; all the workhouses in England, all the overseers setting up stocks and manufactures won't reach this case; and I humbly presume to say, if these two articles are removed, there will be no need of the other.

I make no difficulty to promise on a short summons, to produce above a thousand families in England, within my particular knowledge, who go in rags, and their children wanting bread, whose fathers can earn their 15 to 25*s.* per week, but will not work, who may have work enough, but are too idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn anything more than bare subsistence, and spending money for themselves.

I can give an incredible number of examples in my own knowledge among our labouring poor. I once paid 6 or 7 men together on a Saturday night, the least 10*s.* and some 30*s.* for work, and have seen them go with it directly to the alehouse, lie there till Monday, spend it every penny, and run in debt to boot, and not give a farthing of it to their families, though all of them had wives and children.

From hence comes poverty, parish charges, and beggary, if ever one of these wretches falls sick, all they would ask was a pass to the parish they lived at, and the wife and children to the door a-begging.

VIII

FROM THE POLITICAL TRACT ENTITLED

AN APPEAL TO HONOUR AND JUSTICE, &c.

(1715)

I HOPE the time is come at last, when the voice of moderate principles may be heard; hitherto the noise has been so great, and the prejudices and passions of men so strong, that it had been but in vain to offer at any argument, or for any man to talk of giving a reason for his actions: and this alone has been the cause why, when other men, who, I think, have less to say in their own defence, are appealing to the public, and struggling to defend themselves, I alone have been silent under the infinite clamours and reproaches, causeless curses, unusual threatenings, and the most unjust and injurious treatment in the world.

I hear much of peoples calling out to punish the guilty; but very few are concerned to clear the innocent. I hope some will be inclined to judge impartially, and have yet reserved so much of the Christian, as to believe, and at least to hope, that a rational creature cannot abandon himself so as to act without some reason, and are willing not only to have me defend myself, but to be able to answer for me where they hear me causelessly insulted by others, and therefore are willing to have such just arguments put into their mouths as the cause will bear.

As for those who are prepossessed and according to the modern justice of parties are resolved to be so, let them go, I am not arguing with them, but *against* them; they act so contrary to justice, to reason, to religion, so contrary to the rules of Christians and of good manners, that they are not to be argued with, but to be

exposed, or entirely neglected. I have a receipt against all the uneasiness which it may be supposed to give me, and that is, to contemn slander, and think it not worth the least concern; neither should I think it worth while to give any answer to it if it were not on some other accounts, of which I shall speak as I go on.

If any man ask me, why I am in such haste to publish this matter at this time? Among many other good reasons which I could give, these are some:

1. I think I have long enough been made *fabula vulgi*, and borne the weight of general slander; and I should be wanting to truth, to my family, and to myself, if I did not give a fair and true state of my conduct for impartial men to judge of, when I am no more in being to answer for myself.

2. By the hints of mortality, and by the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think that I am not a great way off from, if not very near to the great ocean of Eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage: wherefore, I think, I should even accounts with this world before I go, that no actions (slanders) may lie against my heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's (character) inheritance.

3. I fear (God grant I have not a second sight in it) that this lucid interval of temper and moderation which shines, though dimly too, upon us at this time, will be but of short continuance, and that some men, who know not how to use the advantage God has put into their hands with moderation, will push, in spite of the best prince in the world, at such extravagant things, and act with such an intemperate forwardness, as will revive the heats and animosities which wise and good men were in hopes should be allayed by the happy accession of the King to the throne.

It is and ever was my opinion, that moderation is the only virtue by which the peace and tranquillity of this nation can be preserved, even the King himself (I believe His Majesty will allow me that freedom) can only

be happy in the enjoyment of the crown by a moderate administration, if His Majesty should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils; if it does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. It cannot be pleasant or agreeable, and, I think, it cannot be safe to any just prince to rule over a divided people, split into incensed and exasperated parties: though a skilful mariner may have courage to master a tempest, and goes fearless through a storm, yet he can never be said to delight in the danger; a fresh fair gale, and a quiet sea, is the pleasure of his voyage, and we have a saying worth notice to them that are otherwise minded, *Qui amat periculum periebat in illo.*

To attain at the happy calm, which, as I say, is the safety of Britain, is the question which should now move us all; and he would merit to be called the nation's physician that could prescribe the specific for it. I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will never do it; a balance of parties *may*. Some are for the former; they talk high of punishments, letting blood, revenging the treatment they have met with, and the like: if they, not knowing what spirit they are of, think this the course to be taken, let them try their hands, I shall give them for lost, and look for their downfall from that time; for the ruin of all such tempers slumbereth not.

It is many years that I have professed myself an enemy to all precipitations in public administrations; and often I have attempted to show, that hot counsels have ever been destructive to those who have made use of them: indeed they have not always been a disadvantage to the nation, as in King James II's reign, where, as I have often said in print, his precipitation was the safety of us all; and if he had proceeded temperately and politically, we had been undone, *Felix quem faciunt.*

But these things have been spoken when your ferment has been too high for anything to be heard; whether you will hear it now or not, I know not, and

therefore it was that I said, I fear the present cessation of party-arms will not hold long.

These are some of the reasons why I think this is the proper juncture for me to give some account of myself, and of my past conduct to the world; and that I may do this as effectually as I can, being perhaps never more to speak from the Press, I shall, as concisely as I can, give an abridgment of my own history during the few unhappy years I have employed myself, or been employed in public in the world.

Misfortunes in business having unhinged me from matters of trade, it was about the year 1694, when I was invited by some merchants, with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at Cadiz in Spain, and that with offers of very good commissions; but Providence, which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting England upon any account, and made me refuse the best offers of that kind, to be concerned with some eminent persons at home, in proposing ways and means to the Government for raising money to supply the occasions of the war then newly begun. Some time after this, I was, without the least application of mine, and being then seventy miles from London, sent for to be accomptant to the Commissioners of the Glass Duty, in which service I continued to the determination of their commission.

During this time, there came out a vile abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners*, in which the author (who he was I then knew not) fell personally upon the King himself, and then upon the Dutch nation; and after having reproached His Majesty with crimes, that his worst enemy could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of *Foreigner*.

This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptation as it did, I mean, *The True-Born Englishman*. How this poem was the occasion of my being known to His Majesty;

how I was afterwards received by him ; how employed; and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case, and is only mentioned here as I take all occasions to do for the expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and who it was my honour and advantage to call master as well as sovereign, whose goodness to me I never forgot, neither can forget ; and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, nor ever can do so ; and who had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in the world.

But Heaven for our sins removed him in judgment. How far the treatment he met with, from the nation he came to save, and whose deliverance he finished, was admitted by Heaven to be a means of his death, I desire to forget for their sakes who are guilty ; and if this calls any of it to mind, it is mentioned to move them to treat him better who is now with like principles of goodness and clemency appointed by God, and the Constitution, to be their sovereign ; lest He that protects righteous princes, avenges the injuries they receive from an ungrateful people, by giving them up to the confusions their madness leads them to.

And in their just acclamations at the happy accession of His present Majesty to the Throne, I cannot but advise them to look back, and call to mind who it was that first guided them to the Family of Hanover, and to pass by all the Popish branches of Orleans and Savoy, recognizing the just authority of Parliament, in the undoubted right of limiting the succession, and establishing that glorious maxim of our settlement, viz : That it is inconsistent with the Constitution of this Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince. I say let them call to mind who it was that guided their thoughts first to the Protestant race of our own Kings in the House of Hanover, and that it is to King William, next to Heaven itself, to whom we owe the enjoying a Protestant King at this time. I need not go back to the particulars of His Majesty's conduct in that affair,

his journey in person to the country of Hanover, and the court of Zell; his particular management of the affair afterwards at home, perfecting the design, by naming the illustrious family to the nation, and bringing about a parliamentary settlement to effect it, entailing thereby the Crown in so effectual a manner as we see has been sufficient to prevent the worst designs of our Jacobite people in behalf of the Pretender; a settlement, together with the subsequent Acts which followed it, and the Union with Scotland which made it unalterable, that gave a complete satisfaction to those who knew and understood it, and removed those terrible apprehensions of the Pretender (which some entertained) from the minds of others who were yet as zealous against him as it was possible for any to be: Upon this settlement, as I shall show presently, I grounded my opinion, which I often expressed, viz. that I did not see it possible the Jacobites could ever set up their idol here; and I think my opinion abundantly justified in the consequences, of which by and by.

This digression, as a debt to the glorious memory of King William, I could not in justice omit, and as the reign of His present Majesty is esteemed happy, and looked upon as a blessing from Heaven by us, it will most necessarily lead us to bless the memory of King William to whom we owe so much of it; How easily could His Majesty have led us to other branches, whose relation to the Crown might have had large pretences? What prince but would have submitted to have educated a successor of their race in the Protestant religion for the sake of such a Crown? But the King, who had our happiness in view, and saw as far into it as any human sight could penetrate, who knew we were not to be governed by unexperienced youths; that the Protestant religion was not to be established by political converts; and that princes under French influence, or instructed in French politics, were not proper instruments to preserve the liberties of Britain, fixed his eyes upon the family who now possess the Crown, as not only having an undoubted

relation to it by blood, but as being first and principally zealous and powerful assertors of the Protestant religion and interest against Popery; and secondly, stored with a visible succession of worthy and promising branches, who appeared equal to the weight of government, qualified to fill a throne, and guide a nation which, without reflection, are not famed to be the most easy to rule in the world.

IX

THE FOLLOWING TWO PASSAGES ARE TAKEN FROM THE BOOK

A TOUR THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN (1724)

The first is from the account of the lower reaches of the Thames; the second an account of Epsom Downs.

Going Down the River

(From Vol. I, Letter II.)

When a merchant-ship comes down from London (if they have the tide of ebb under foot, or a fresh gale of wind from the west, so that they have, what they call fresh-way, and the ships come down apace) they generally hand some of their sails, haul up a fore-sail or main-sail, or lower the fore-top-sail, so to slacken her way, as soon as they come to the Old Man's Head, when they open the Reach, which they call Gravesend Reach, which begins about a mile and half above the town, they do the like, to signify that they intend to bring to, as the sailors call it, and come to an anchor.

As soon as they come among the ships that are riding in the Road (as there are always a great many)

the sentinel at the Block-House, as they call it, on Gravesend side fires his musket, which is to tell the pilot he must bring to: if he comes on, as soon as the ship passes broad side with the Block-House, the sentinel fires again, which is as much as to say, "Why don't you bring to?" If he drives a little farther, he fires a third time, and the language of that is, "Bring to immediately, and let go your anchor, or we will make you."

If the ship continues to drive down, and does not let go her anchor, the gunner of the fort is fetched, and he fires a piece of cannon though without ball; and that is still a threat, though with some patience, and is to say, "Will you come to an anchor or won't you?" If he still ventures to go on, by which he gives them to understand he intends to run for it, then the gunner fires again, and with a shot, and that shot is a signal to the fortress over the river, viz. Tilbury Fort (which I described in my account of Essex), and they immediately let fly at the ship from the guns on the east bastion and after from all the guns they can bring to bear upon her; it is very seldom that a ship will venture their shot, because they can reach her all the way unto the Hope, and round the Hope Point almost to Hole Haven.

Yet I happened once to be upon the shore just by Tilbury Fort, when a ship ventured to run off in spite of all those firings; and it being just at the first shoot of the ebb, and when a great fleet of light colliers and other ships were under sail too; by that time, the ship escaping came round the Hope Point, she was so hid among the other ships, that the gunners on the bastion hardly knew who to shoot at; upon which they manned out several boats with soldiers, in hopes to overtake her or to make signals to some men-of-war at the Nore, to man out their boats and stop her, but she laughed at them all; for as it blew a fresh gale of wind at south-west, and a tide of ebb strong under her foot, she went three foot for their one, and by that time the boats got down to Hole Haven, the ship was beyond the Nore, and as it grew dark they soon lost

sight of her, nor could they ever hear to this day what ship it was, or on what account she ventured to run such a risk.

Another time I was with some merchants in a large yacht, bound to France; they had a great quantity of block-tin on board, and other goods which had not been entered at the Custom House; and the master or captain told us, he did not doubt but he would pass by Gravesend without coming to an anchor; he lay, when this thought came into his head, at an anchor in Gray's Reach just above the Old Man's Head mentioned above, which is a point or head of land on the Essex shore, which makes the bottom of Gray's Reach and the upper end of Gravesend Reach: he observed that the mornings were likely to be exceeding foggy, particularly on the morning next after his resolution of trying there was so thick a fog, that it was scarce possible to see from the main-mast to the bowsprit, even of a hoy; it being high-water, he resolved to weigh and drive, as he called it, and so he did: when he came among the other ships and over against the town, his greatest danger was running foul of them, to prevent which he kept a man lying on his belly at the bowsprit end, to look out, and so, though not without some danger too, he went clear: As for Gravesend or Tilbury Fort, they could see no more of us than they could of London Bridge; and we drove in this fog undiscerned by the forts of the Custom House men, as low as Hole Haven, and went afterwards clear away to Caen in Normandy without being visited.

But such attempts as these, are what would very hardly be brought to pass again now, nor is the risk worth anybody's running if the value be considerable that may be lost; and therefore one may venture to say, that all the ships which go out of the river from London, are first cleared here, even the empty colliers and coasters go on shore, and give an account who they are, and take a signal from the Custom House office, and pay sixpence, and then pass on: As for ships coming in, they all go by here without any notice

taken of them, unless it be to put waiters on board them, if they are not supplied before.

From Gravesend we see nothing remarkable on the road but Gadshill, a noted place for robbing of seamen after they have received their pay at Chatham. Here it was that famous robbery was committed in the year 1676 or thereabouts; it was about four o'clock in the morning when a gentleman was robbed by one Nicks on a bay mare, just on the declining part of the hill, on the west side, for he swore to the spot and to the man; Mr. Nicks, who robbed him, came away to Gravesend, immediately ferried over, and as he said, was stopped by the difficulty of the boat, and of the passage, near an hour; which was a great discouragement to him, but was a kind of bait to his horse. From thence he rode cross the County of Essex, through Tilbury, Hornden, and Billericay, to Chelmsford: Here he stopped about half-an-hour to refresh his horse, and gave him some balls; from thence to Braintree, Bocking, Wethersfield; then over the Downs to Cambridge, and from thence keeping still the cross-roads, he went by Fenny Stanton to Godmanchester, and Huntington, where he baited himself and his mare about an hour; and, as he said himself, slept about half-an-hour, then holding on the North Road, and keeping a full larger gallop most of the way, he came to York the same afternoon, put off his boots and riding clothes, and went dressed as if he had been an inhabitant of the place, not a traveller, to the bowling-green, where, among other gentlemen, was the Lord Mayor of the city; he, singling out his lordship, studied to do something particular that the Mayor might remember him by, and accordingly lays some odd bet with him concerning the bowls then running, which should cause the Mayor to remember it the more particularly; and then takes occasion to ask his lordship what a clock it was; who, pulling out his watch, told him the hour, which was a quarter before, or a quarter after eight at night.

Some other circumstances, it seems, he carefully brought into their discourse, which should make the

Lord Mayor remember the day of the month exactly, as well as the hour of the day.

Upon a prosecution which happened afterwards for this robbery, the whole merit of the case turned upon this single point: The person robbed swore as above to the man, to the place, and to the time, in which the fact was committed, namely, that he was robbed on Gadshill in Kent, on such a day, and at such a time of the day, and on such a part of the hill, and that the prisoner at the bar was the man that robbed him: Nicks, the prisoner, denied the fact, called several persons to his reputation, alleged that he was as far off as Yorkshire at that time, and that particularly the day whereon the prosecutor swore he was robbed, he was at bowls on the public green in the city of York; and to support this, he produced the Lord Mayor of York to testify that he was so, and that the Mayor acted so and so with him there as above.

This was so positive, and so well attested, that the jury acquitted him on a bare supposition, that it was impossible the man could be at two places so remote on one and the same day. There are more particulars related of this story, such as I do not take upon me to affirm; namely, That King Charles II prevailed on him on assurance of pardon, and that he should not be brought into any farther trouble about it, to confess the truth to him privately, and that he owned to His Majesty that he committed the robbery, and how he rode the journey after it, and that upon this the King gave him the name or title of Swift Nicks, instead of Nicks; but these things, I say, I do not relate as certain.

Epsom Downs

(From Vol. I, Letter II.)

Banstead Downs need no description other than this, that their being so near London, and surrounded as they are with pleasant villages, and being in themselves perfectly agreeable, the ground smooth, soft, level and dry (even in but a few hours after rain), they conspire

to make the most delightful spot of ground, of that kind, in all this part of Britain.

When on the public race days they are covered with coaches and ladies, and an innumerable company of horsemen, as well gentlemen as citizens, attending the sport; and then adding to the beauty of the sight, the racers flying over the course, as if they either touched not or felt not the ground they run upon; I think no sight, except that of a victorious army, under the command of a Protestant King of Great Britain could exceed it.

About four miles, over those delicious Downs, brings us to Epsom, and if you will suppose me to come there in the month of July, or thereabouts, you may think me to come in the middle of the season, when the town is full of company, and all disposed to mirth and pleasantry; for abating one unhappy stock-jobbing year, when England took leave to act the frantic for a little while, and when everybody's heads were turned with projects and stocks, I say, except this year, we see nothing of business in the whole conversation of Epsom; even the men of business, who are really so when in London, whether it be at the Exchange, the Alley, or the Treasury Offices, and the Court; yet here they look as if they had left all their London thoughts behind them, and had separated themselves to mirth and good company; as if they came hither to unbend the bow of the mind, and to give themselves a loose to their innocent pleasures; I say, innocent, for such they may enjoy here, and such any man may make his being here, if he pleases.

As, I say, this place seems adapted wholly to pleasure, so the town is suited to it; 'tis all rural, the houses are built at large, not many together, with gardens and ground about them; that the people who come out of their confined dwellings in London, may have air and liberty, suited to the design of country lodgings.

You have no sooner taken lodgings, and entered the apartments, but if you are anything known, you walk out, to see who and who's together, for 'tis the general

language of the place: "Come let's go see the town, folks don't come to Epsom to stay within doors."

The next morning you are welcomed with the music under your chamber window; but for a shilling or two you get rid of them, and prepare for going to the Wells.

Here you have the compliment of the place, are entered into the list of the pleasant company, so you become a citizen of Epsom for that summer, and this costs you another shilling, or if you please, half-a-crown: then you drink the waters, or walk about as if you did; dance with the ladies, though it be in your gown and slippers; have music and company of what kind you like, for every man may sort himself as he pleases: The grave with the grave, and the gay with the gay, the bright, and the wicked; all may be matched if they seek for it, and perhaps some of the last may be over-matched, if they are not upon their guard.

After the morning diversions are over, and every one are walked home to their lodgings, the town is perfectly quiet again; nothing is to be seen, the green, the great room, the raffling-shops all are (as if it was a trading town on a holiday) shut up; there's little stirring, except footmen, and maid-servants going to and fro of errands, and higglers and butchers, carrying provisions to people's lodgings.

This takes up the town till dinner is over, and the company have reposed for two or three hours in the heat of the day; then the first thing you observe is that the ladies come to the shady seats, at their doors, and to the benches in the groves, and covered walks (of which, every house that can have them, is generally supplied with several); here they refresh with cooling liquors, agreeable conversation, and innocent mirth.

Those that have coaches, or horses (as soon as the sun declines) take the air on the Downs, and those that have not, content themselves with staying a little later, and when the air grows cool, and the sun low, they walk out under the shade of the hedges and trees as they find it for their diversion. In the meantime, to-

wards evening the bowling-green begins to fill, the music strikes up in the great room, and company draws together apace: And here they never fail of abundance of mirth, every night being a kind of ball; the gentlemen bowl, the ladies dance, others raffle, and some rattle; conversation is the general pleasure of the place, till it grows late, and then the company draws off; and, generally speaking, they are pretty well as to keeping good hours; so that by eleven o'clock the dancing generally ends and the day closes with good wishes, and appointments to meet the next morning at the Wells, or somewhere else.

The retired part of the world, of which also there are very many here, have the waters brought home to their apartments in the morning, where they drink and walk about a little, for assisting the physical operation, till near noon, then dress dinner, and repose for the heat as others do; after which they visit, drink tea, walk abroad, come to their lodgings to supper, then walk again till it grows dark, and then to bed. The greatest part of the men, I mean of this grave sort, may be supposed to be men of business, who are at London upon business all the day, and thronging to their lodgings at night, make the families, generally speaking, rather provide suppers than dinners; for 'tis very frequent for the trading part of the company to place their families here, and take their horses every morning to London, to the Exchange, to the Alley, or to the warehouse, and be at Epsom again at night; and I know one citizen that practised it for several years together, and scarce ever lay a night in London during the whole season.

This, I say, makes the good wives satisfy themselves with providing for the family, rather at night than at noon, that their husbands may eat with them; after which they walk abroad as above, and these they call the sober citizens, and those are not much at the Wells or at the green; except sometimes when they give themselves a holiday, or when they get sooner home than usual.

Nor are these which I call the more retired part the company, the least part of those that fill up the town of Epsom, nor is their way of living so retired, but th there is a great deal of society, mirth, and good manners, and good company among these too.

THE END

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